

**TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THERE CLEAR, IDENTIFIABLE PERCEPTIONS OF TOURISM IMPACTS IN THE  
REGION OF THE WORLD HERITAGE SITE, MACHU PICCHU?**

**by**

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# Abstract

Through literature studied, there appeared to be a bias towards the negative tourism impacts at Machu Picchu. As the researcher, I decided to travel to the site and conduct qualitative research through semi-structured interviews, to obtain accurate and real-time perceptions from tourists, residents and tourism workers. This was to ascertain whether the literature studied was accurate in suggesting tourism was slowly destroying the sanctuary, or whether there was a balance, taking into consideration perceived positive impacts, such as employment opportunities, the development of infrastructure and improved transport links. Interviews were conducted in various locations around the region of Machu Picchu, in the UK, and perceptions also received via email. Despite a low rate of interview agreement, I was able to retrieve valuable and relevant insights into these perceived tourism impacts.

This augmented desk study offers a range of perceptions to assess and counteract the negative impacts and to potentially improve economic, environmental and sociocultural situations by instating sustainable insights into the management of the heritage site and within its region. In general, tourists viewed tourism as an important means of income for the local people, as it created many opportunities for the Peruvian people and allowed them to teach others about their heritage; enforcing civic pride and suggesting positive social change.

Contrarily, many local people felt used as a money-making machine, and believed that tourists did not care for their history nor respect their traditions, and the driving force of financial gain behind tourism was creating a lesser meaning regarding their ancestry. Environmentally, the daily volume of tourists accessing the site was putting tremendous strain upon the landscape and monument, creating problems

of erosion and littering. Subsequently, this was also found to be lessening the overall experience for the tourists, who were not able to enjoy the site to the full extent due to overcrowding and noise levels.

Overall, it was found that the site was surviving, but that the confusion between stakeholders resulted in a lack of clear management strategies in place, leading to limited organisation and clear guidelines to abide by. If this were to continue, there is speculation that the site will become enlisted onto UNESCO's blacklist of world heritage sites in danger, and may even cross the point of no return while surpassing its daily carrying capacity.

Details regarding the various topics discussed during the semi-structured interviews can be found in section 3.5.

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# 1. Introduction

I first became aware of Machu Picchu during one of my A level Geography lessons regarding overcrowding at world heritage sites. I was immediately gripped and fascinated by this hidden site, high up in the Andean mountains. What was its purpose? Why was it abandoned? My interest and love for Geography and tourism then led me to study tourism at university in Canterbury, where the desire to explore and research Machu Picchu lay in the back of my mind for three years. Once the option to study through research arose for a postgraduate degree, I knew exactly the topic I wanted to study. I was enthralled by the problems the site and its region faced with regards to overtourism, overdependence and environmental damage through literature I had read over the years, and wanted to physically travel to the site and understand if others shared my perceptions and also of the literature I had previously studied.

Upon arrival in Cusco, I was initially reminded of an underdeveloped European city, bustling with tourists and covered in tour offices, souvenir stands and restaurants selling pizzas; advertising the latter via lairy boards outside, as if flashing large pizzas at the entrance of each restaurant was the sole way to attract tourists. As if that were not enough, my eyes wandered across the busy square, finally resting on the Irish pub in the corner. The term 'westernisation' sprung to mind. Soon after, I was bombarded by local people offering me 'designer' sunglasses and massages for a "very good price". One lady, dressed in traditional clothing and leading an alpaca, offered to take a photo with me, to which I jumped at the chance. Once the photo was taken, the woman demanded a donation. It felt cheap and insincere, and I

was concerned that this beautiful heritage site and subsequent surrounding towns and villages had turned into a desperate money-grabbing corporate machine. I was anxious to discuss these findings with others, to understand if they too shared my views, or if in actual fact the region was perceived as thriving, prospering and alive with culture and revenue.

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As an augmented desk study, this research paper aims to assess the extent of which there are any clear, identifiable perceptions of tourism impacts in the region of the World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu, and outline any clear, identifiable perceptions of tourism impacts in the region of the World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu. To commence, a thorough understanding of the site's background will be outlined, alongside details of the scene(s) in which the research took place, including the researcher's initial thoughts regarding any issues that were apparent upon visiting these places for the first time. This initial understanding and clarification is mandatory in order to fully assess and encapsulate the entwined web of Machu Picchu's region, and to highlight the extent that these perceptions of tourism impacts may suggest stimulated growth, change and development in this area of Peru. This chapter aims to offer understanding of the ancient site, from its creation and discovery, through to its gradual utilisation and realisation as a world-famous tourist destination, as well as provide a clear picture of the scene in which the researcher found herself in upon arrival in the Incan capital, Cusco, Peru. Initial issues perceived by the researcher will also be discussed, in order to provide a reflexive stance. Here, the research question and objectives will be clearly identified, and discussed throughout this introduction.



## **Machu Picchu as a World Heritage Site; preservation, overexploitation and conflicts**

Machu Picchu was discovered by explorer Hiram Bingham in July 1911, which had previously existed 500 years prior as an Inca settlement. It is believed to have been deserted in 1540 after the Incan Empire collapsed, for fear of the Spanish discovering its existence on their quest for gold. Thankfully, it “remained untouched...because of its isolated location on the top of a steep mountain” (Sassa, Fukuoka, Shuzui and Hoshino, 2002: 46). The site was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1983, and is, to this day, one of the world’s most controversial sites of its type, with many criticising its management in recent decades.

Upon arrival in Cusco, it became immediately apparent to myself, as the researcher, that the entire centre of Cusco was heavily catered towards the tourists, and to advertising Machu Picchu. I noted many tourist offices and tour companies lined up and down every street, with pictures of Machu Picchu blown up in the window and placed on boards outside, all promising good deals. In the town centre, an Irish pub stood proudly in the corner, busy, with many tourists walking in and out. Additionally, I noted the vast amount of restaurants available, all catered towards the tourist, providing traditional Peruvian cuisine, alongside pizzas and chips - a key sign of westernisation. It became immediately clear to me that the town of Cusco was hugely dependant on tourists and the tourism industry, placing a great strain upon the heritage site and subsequently on the management to maintain it for these hundreds of foreign visitors.

I had expected the area and city to be thriving with tourists, due to the site’s ever-increasing fame. However, it must be noted that in spite of this, I was still incredibly surprised by the sheer volume of tourists present, from all over the world, and moreover how the area had adapted to cater towards

these different nationalities. Alongside these initial personal perceptions, literature suggests that money raised through ticket sales and other activities, and not being used as an “opportunity to fund site preservation” (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 329) is currently proving a major threat to the survival of the site through overexploitation.

Responding to international pressure, two management plans for the maintenance and governance of the world heritage site were released in 1998 and 2005, outlining current problems and means of improving the site and increasing revenue, whilst preserving its natural and cultural heritage in the meantime. By comparing these two ‘master plans’, I attempted to assess through semi-structured interviews if the site management appeared to have altered the site throughout the years and any effects these plans have had upon people’s attitudes of its management. I aimed to uncover whether these management changes at the site and within the area had gone unnoticed, or whether tourists, locals and workers had observed any impacts from the implementation of these plans. The two master plans demonstrate interdisciplinary approaches to managing the heritage site, perceptions of these approaches which will later be evaluated through the discussion of semi-structured interviews.

It is true that Machu Picchu has been described as “one of the most enigmatic ancient sites in the world” (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 157) and has been nominated as the seventh wonder of the world. However, if we look deep down through its peaceful serenity of 16 fountains and constructed springs; a site thought to be a religious and calming retreat for its emperor Pachucuti until 1471, there now lies a site of conflict. Political and financial agenda run riot, with hidden plans of expansion arising to create employment opportunities and to make the area more accessible.

As a researcher arriving in Cusco, I immediately noted the sheer volume of local people working within the tourism industry, whether directly or indirectly, and wondered if this perhaps was a key sign of employment dependence upon the tourism industry in the region. What became instantly clear, was the concentrated dependency on tourism in central Cusco, as a mile down the road I discovered a vastly different world, of extreme poverty and disintegrating roads and structures. I realised that I needed to take a step back, in order to assess my positioning as a researcher. I was subsequently able to separate my researcher and tourist minds in order to think clearly and perceive the surrounding environment in this area without a biased standpoint. By doing so, I was able to truly capture the striking difference in these two regions of the city. From where I stood, it was evident that any money generated from tourism was not being equally distributed across the region. Clearly, further understanding was needed here as a result of this research, to uncover if others also perceived these tourism impacts and shared any similar views.

From my initial perceptions of employment dependency and unfair economic distribution, there was a clear link here to that studied in literature, where Machu Picchu is perceived as being caught between the “explosion of tourists and the exploitation...between the protection of inestimable heritage and speculative economic interests related to tourism” (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 157) creating concern that Machu Picchu will soon be inserted onto the UNESCO blacklist of heritage sites in danger..

UNESCO advise a maximum of 2,500 visitors per day to visit Machu Picchu, potentially double the estimated number of residents during the 100 years of the site’s habitation. However, due to the launch of the nearby tourist town of Aguas Calientes, also known as Machu Picchu Pueblo, and the privatisation

of the surrounding areas and businesses, the state has lost power and visitor numbers are subsequently increasing to around 3000 per day. As previously stated, I noted the crowds of tourists upon arrival in Cusco, concentrated in the central tourist spots of the city; crowds outside tour companies and lining up outside of restaurants, and interestingly, very few tourists outside of the central square. Tourists were congregated around anything related to Machu Picchu, and showed little interest elsewhere. Concerned about these large numbers at Machu Picchu - a mirror of what was already occurring in central Cusco, I was able to understand the management concerns of overcrowding at the site and the importance of addressing my research objectives. I aimed to discover whether others were also aware of these concerns, and, if so, also shared my apprehension as to these clear examples of concentrated, overtourism.

Responding to the concerns of UNESCO, the Peruvian government and the institutions in charge of managing the sanctuary, have gradually begun to implement various planning tools and strategies, marking the beginning of a culture of “managing by plans” (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 171) by using the two master plans from 1998 and 2005, as previously mentioned. It has evolved into a situation of “managing a site that is highly visible, highly profitable, highly discussed, and at the crossroad of multiple convergent and often conflicting interests” (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 158). Representing an insightful case study of an outstanding area of cultural and natural beauty, the site of Machu Picchu highlights an important debate between the historical value of heritage and its viable exploitation, demonstrating a clear link. This augmented perceptions study aims to uncover any clear and identifiable perceptions of tourism impacts in the region of Machu Picchu.

According to the directorial rules of Peru, the site is both cultural and natural, meaning that it is subject to two different ministries; the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Agriculture. In spite of this, and due to its de-centralisation, it also falls into the local branch of INC-CUSCO, who run the site for cultural purposes. Furthermore, there is also a third major player involved, which only complicates the management and planning activities further. The municipality of Aguas Calientes is the management of Machu Picchu's third major player, the town of which was renamed as Machu Picchu Pueblo to appear more 'marketable'. It became apparent to myself upon arrival in Cusco, that it was unclear who was in charge of the site management, as its cultural importance seemed equally as important as its environmental significance, alongside the necessity of the tourism industry for its economy. I was certainly intrigued to uncover how these many aspects and stakeholders of the site fitted together, and if there were a conflict of interests.

Cusco has been developed over the years to become a tourist city, "built and devoted to the exploitation of tourism" (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 334) at the Machu Picchu heritage site, and within its region. Cusco has been labelled by UNESCO as one of the key problems facing the preservation of Machu Picchu, as the city is outside the control of any plan for its urbanisation and development, and has subsequently led to "construction in prohibited areas, despite landslide risks, and without any respect for the preservation of the area just below the entrance of the park" (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 334).

There are many heritage sites under the wing of Cusco, and Machu Picchu is only one of them, with many others hidden in the surrounding region. This has caused a partial organisational overlap between the stakeholders, including UNESCO and the various ministries, all of which are only partially involved. The number and variety of players involved in the management of Cusco has the potential to generate a

multitude of problems and conflicts in the area, regarding a differences of key objectives and development goals. After conducting this secondary research of assessing previous literature, I was able to understand the aforementioned concerns of landslides and prohibited construction, as I witnessed evidence of this within the region, such as unfinished buildings precariously balanced on hillsides.

Around 142,000 people used the Inca trail in 2007, which made Machu Picchu one of the most profitable sites in the world at the time. Altogether, the price of the entrance fee, the train to or from Aguas Calientes, and the bus from the city of Cusco to the heritage site costs around 180 US Dollars; of which all contracts, services and companies are privatised. In the region that year, privatisation resulted in only a third of the tourism revenue generated being kept by public entities. In total, Machu Picchu received around 800,000 visitors in 2007. In spite of privatisation, the state itself still received a large amount of income generated from the site. This was then clarified further through my own personal standpoint, as previously mentioned, I witnessed a drastic difference while walking only one mile from the centre to enter a very different world, evidently displaying a tremendous lack of financial injection towards the outskirts of the city. In spite of this apparent lack of wealth, I was interested to discover that INC-CUSCO is almost completely self-funded by Machu Picchu ticket sales, with very minimal inflows from Lima.

The literature studied in the following chapter has led to the development of the following research objectives in which I intended to divulge through qualitative research, in the form of semi-structured interviews, while keeping my own initial perceptions in mind:

- To uncover which perceived measures are highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.

- To discover the key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.
- To understand the key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

This augmented desk study is structured in the following way. Chapter 2 presents literature to support the underpinning of this desk study, which includes the subsequent topics:

- Controversial perceptions depicting how tourism appears to be impacting vulnerable areas of natural and cultural heritage.
- Academic literature suggesting how planning, funding and multidisciplinary approaches contribute to managing tourism in World Heritage Sites.
- An assessment of stakeholder collaboration and management plans, and the extent of which there are clear perceptions on how these are leading to the mismanagement of Machu Picchu.

Chapter 3 presents the methodology of the study, followed by the substantial presentation and analysis in chapters 4, 5 and 6. The final remarks are left for the concluding chapter (7).

## 2. Literature Review

The following chapter will cover a variety of topics associated with the research aim, from which people's perceptions of these will be uncovered later on in the discussion. These topics present themselves as follows:

- Controversy around how tourism appears to be impacting vulnerable areas of natural and cultural heritage.
- Academics' views on how planning, funding and multidisciplinary approaches contribute to managing tourism in World Heritage Sites.
- A discussion into stakeholder collaboration and management plans leading to the apparent mismanagement of the site of Machu Picchu.

### **2.1 Controversy around how tourism appears to be impacting vulnerable areas of natural and cultural heritage**

Tourism impacts are “multi-faceted, often problematic and not as easily compartmentalised as is often portrayed” (Mason, 2008: 28) as they cannot be categorised with ease into only social or environmental, but have a tendency to have several interrelated dimensions (Mason, 2008). In the case of this research, tourism impacts at the site of Machu Picchu overlap these dimensions, such as socio-cultural impacts and also environmental and economic through the development of infrastructure and transport links.



The human environment and the natural environment are interlinked, and tourism effects and is affected by the latter. Tourism can create many impacts upon sites of tourist interest, which can be either perceived as positive or negative depending on the viewpoint of the stakeholder in question. It can be responsible for the “creation of employment; the revitalisation of poor or non-industrial regions, the rebirth of local arts and crafts and traditional cultural activities, the revival of social and cultural life of the local population, the renewal of local architectural traditions” (Mason, 2008: 43) and additionally it can also demonstrate the need to protect heritage sites by conserving areas of outstanding natural beauty and of cultural value and significance. In this augmented desk study, I will be attempting to highlight how people perceive the impacts of tourism to the region of Machu Picchu, and will discuss these views regarding employment, development and socio-cultural issues, amongst others.

On the other hand, tourism can create overcrowding and congestion in resorts and popular locations such as Machu Picchu, which can potentially then cause stress for tourists and residents alike. Traditional activities for the local community may start to decline, such as farming, and there is a risk of regions becoming dependent on tourism. This research will attempt to highlight the perceptions of those who believe tourism may or may not have caused the region of Machu Picchu to become too dependent on tourism. Generally there is a chance in these situations that residents of the communities could struggle to co-habit with the tourists, which may then cause tension on both sides, creating unsatisfactory visitor experiences. This could be due to the contrast of different cultural values. Each year, this could become a significant problem, particularly if the concept of seasonality is involved as residents will have to modify their way of life for a section of the year. In the case of Machu Picchu, this period would not include the month of February, when the site is closed for renovation, and when the number of visits decrease due to the rainy season (November - March).

The environment is increasingly being recognised as a major resource for the industry of tourism, with there being a mutual dependence between the two (Mason, 2008). According to Scarpa et al. (2011), tourism can be associated with a list of environmental benefits, which should in itself benefit from means taken to protect and maintain its value as a resource for tourism. Unfortunately, tourism has caused major damage to the environment in the past 50 years, rather than utilising its benefits as a thriving industry as a way of protecting and enhancing it. Due to this, there is a growing conflict between tourism activity and the wish to conserve landscapes and habitats (Mason, 2008). This potential conflict will be discussed further in this research, with regards to the preservation of the site of Machu Picchu against its possible exploitation for the purposes of tourism.

Aside from this, tourism has stimulated ways of aiding the environment through its funding and the realisation that visitor satisfaction levels are important regarding visitor retention and customer loyalty. It has created methods to protect both the environment and heritage structures such as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, like the reconstruction and maintenance of the structures at Machu Picchu. As an industry, it may also provide the money for the protection and upkeep of historic buildings and other fragile heritage sites. Despite this, as previously mentioned, tourism can ruin the overall customer experience through overcrowding and congestion, as well as contribute towards footpath erosion and littering. If a fragile site of natural and cultural heritage exceeds its carrying capacity, then there is a danger that the site may not ever fully recover (Mason, 2008).

Despite the evident mutual dependence between tourism and the environment, the heritage tourism sector has received little attention from academics interested in sustainable tourism as there is an “underlying justification for the (heritage industry) to formulate a proactive rather than a reactive

consensual plan that can appeal to the suppliers, the regulators and the consumers of the heritage tourism industry within a sustainability framework” (Chhabra, 2010: 11). Instead of this, academic literature has concentrated on the cultural, educational and practical conservation features of heritage tourism, disregarding the environment’s fragility, even though “tourism is synergic with cultural heritage for regional competitiveness” (Alberti and Giusti, 2012: 271). It is unfortunate that in spite of this, there has been little interest displayed in assessing the conditions that need to be met in order that sustainability is solidified within heritage tourism.

Sustainable tourism is only able to deal with impacts in the short and long term by involving all stakeholders regarding their needs. It is proactive that the concept of sustainable development arrived just as the conservation movement was emerging in society at a rapid pace (Hardy and Beeton, 2009), resulting in the environmental impacts of tourism development being shown greater and justified attention. The acknowledgment of the environmental impacts at Machu Picchu caused by tourism has spurred stakeholders to take action and launch a variety of measures to reduce these impacts, such as the restriction of footpaths and the limitations to tourist numbers. These perceived issues, and others, shall be discussed further in this desk study.

For less economically developed countries, cultural tourism involves people from varying backgrounds and societies meeting in different circumstances “Our society is global but it is composed of myriad different cultures” (Boniface, 2013: 3). International tourism is dominated by foreign ownership and tour companies, which has resulted in local people integrated into a system over which they have no control “If tourism development is to benefit the local community, attention should also be given to the residents' image of the place rather than that of tourists' only” (Stylidis et al., 2014: 261).

Over time, tourism and societal change have become more prominent as the two are interlinked closer than before “demographic changes in modern societies have created new challenges for the development of tourism due to their implications on tourism participation behaviour... (and) may be both an opportunity and a risk for the future development of tourism” (Bernini and Cracolici, 2015: 191). Where the elements of a socio-cultural system are interconnected, if one aspect is changed, then other aspects of the system could change subsequently (Cole, 2008). If this change is induced through having contact with another culture, such as in tourism, it is called acculturation.

Additionally, a common socio-cultural impact brought about through tourism, is the demonstration effect, which describes a process where local people copy visitor’s behaviour and aspire to own their material possessions (Cole, 2008). It is of the opinion of some that this demonstration effect could potentially be beneficial, providing it encourages local people to adapt to work for things that they lack, displaying how tourism can play a positive role in cultural tourism. Within this study, the perceived negative implications of the demonstration effect shall be discussed with reference to westernised culture and lack of authenticity, which in turn have the potential to lessen the overall tourist experience at Machu Picchu and within the towns surrounding it.

Globalisation involves the “homogenisation of international markets and an increasing similarity in the needs and habits of international customers...and (it) is built based on the assumption that people desire the same products and lifestyles no matter where they live, so that multinational companies may use a common management strategy for all of the countries in which they operate” (Liu et al., 2014: 149). It is a concept describing how the network of ties connecting people around the world is

tightening. Tourism involves the mass movement of people and cultural capital, is supported by a huge media, and is considered to be both a cause and consequence of globalisation (Azarya, 2004; Salazar, 2005).

There is a danger that if a tourist destination modernises, then it could lose the original appeal “to develop is to modernise: if a remote cultural tourist destination modernises, it is no longer ‘primitive’ and it loses its appeal” (Cole, 2008: 22). Cole (2008) goes on to state that the key questions that are in need of asking, are not about tourism impacts, but are about the use of tourism and how the “facets of culture are articulated in the face of increased tourism” (Cole, 2008: 22). There is present concern that should Machu Picchu be rebuilt to look like its former self, the site could lose an aspect of its appeal as a key tourist destination, as many of the magic lies within the ruins. It is paramount that these vulnerable heritage tourist sites, such as Machu Picchu, are protected and managed effectively through planning and funding, in order to prevent this negative development from occurring. The following section will attempt to discuss this.

## **2.2 Academics’ views on how planning, funding and multidisciplinary approaches contribute to managing tourism in World Heritage Sites**

Traditionally, heritage tourism has involved a wide range of backgrounds, such as “conservators and curators, planners, operations managers, strategic experts, public relations experts, and marketing professionals” (Garrod and Fyall, 2000: 688). Tourism is an “important sector of heritage consumption... (with) the active participation of consumers co-creating heritage experiences as informed participants” (Murdy, 2015: 1499). A curatorial approach in managing a heritage tourism attraction implies that a

heritage mission cares for the property or site in question and maintaining it in its original state, with issues around public access and funding arriving as a secondary consideration.

The 'user pays principle' is now a widely recognised concept for promoting sustainability in the context of major forms of tourism, and consequently, many heritage managers are now adopting it. However, literature suggests that some heritage managers argue that heritage has a value far beyond any price that can be placed on it, as it is a cultural value to society which "must not (become) compromised by base commercial values" (Garrod and Fyall, 2000: 685). It is evident that many heritage managers feel uncomfortable charging an expensive admission fee, as it usually contradicts the concept of the 'people's heritage' being available to all, despite evidence suggesting that this revenue can provide enormous potential in driving the heritage sector towards sustainability. Charging an admission fee not only manages tourist numbers, but also aids by funding the management of their impact through conservation programmes. At Machu Picchu, the 'user pays principle' has been implemented, as revenue generated from tourism is returned in part to the community through paying the wages of the workers at the site, and also contributes towards the renovation costs during February each year, when it is closed to the public. This will be discussed further in this study, alongside its other economic implications from tourism.

Tourism has the overall aim of generating revenue whilst becoming a profitable income, while heritage organisations have the key goal to protect and preserve. This contrast in agendas creates conflicts which can "escalate not only among different government roles and forms of regulation but also among stakeholders supporting diverse standpoints" (Petrova and Hristov, 2016: 7). Petrova and Hristov (2016) go on to state that the need for the co-ordination of tourism development strategies has "arguably increased in recent years" (2016: 7) and that the role of public stakeholders is paramount for potential

heritage tourism development. According to Garrod and Fyall (2000), some heritage managers are reluctant to accept that heritage can be given a monetary value, as commodification is associated with pricing and the belief that heritage should not have a price tag. There is also a strong belief amongst those managing heritage sites that feel the experience of visiting the heritage site in question, should not be restricted to any on the grounds of cost.

At Machu Picchu, research suggests that the local people possess a sense of animosity regarding the site's entry cost, and are frustrated that they cannot afford to visit their own heritage, which is discussed further in section 6.4. It cannot be argued that the high cost of conserving cultural heritage make the revenue generated from tourism indispensable "preservation of cultural heritage sites is costly and needs support from the government and other cultural heritage funding organisations" (Perera, 2015: 3).

There is an increasing interest in cultural resources, creating opportunities in destinations with a rich culture. Despite there being an "inevitable contestation of heritage in multicultural societies" (Hartmann, 2014: 171), according to Ashworth (2012), tourism to heritage sites can contribute in both positive and negative ways to the resolution of ethnic or cultural divisions. Critical questions have been raised concerning the role of managing development at heritage tourism sites (Ashworth, 2012), with many questioning "whether or not tourism is part of the solution or part of the problem" (Hartmann, 2014: 171), regarding the aftermath of ethnic conflicts. Sections 5.2 and 6.2 discuss the perceived negative and positive ways in which tourism has impacted Machu Picchu with regards to its sociocultural issues, such as staged authenticity and the increase in civic pride.

An important foundation for planning today is creating order in response to social and environment degradation (Mason, 2008). Tourism planning and policy is "inter/multi/transdisciplinary in character"

(Dredge and Jamal, 2015: 286), and minimises the risk of an unregulated activity that could lead to a wide range of negative social and environmental impacts. It is “one of the most significant influences on how tourism develops, who wins and loses, and how benefits and impacts of tourism are distributed” (Dredge and Jamal, 2015: 285), with the aim of increasing and maximising the benefits of development. One of the key issues facing Machu Picchu regarding management, is the amount of key stakeholders involved in every decision-making process, creating disparity within policies. This issue of management is not only discussed within this section, but is continued within the main discussion in section 4.

Management is a powerful and important concept that is strongly linked to planning and is a “goal-oriented process” (Mason, 2015: 74), which involves allocating resources and coordinating groups of people. It is also the first part of a process involving “organising, empowering and controlling” (Mason, 2008: 74). Tourism management refers to not only that of managing the resources themselves for tourism, but also the interaction between the residents and tourists and between the tourists and physical resources; encompassing both social and environmental impacts.

Traditionally, strategies for heritage tourism management have focused on the resource (the supply) and ignored the tourists (the demand), with global trends of heritage tourism management surpassing the “product-led development approach that underlines exhibits and education to a more visitor-oriented development approach that underlines consumer preferences and quality of personal experience” (Alazaizeh et al., 2016: 150). The latter here can be observed within management strategies at Machu Picchu and within its region, as much of the local amenities are now heavily catered towards the tourist. This visitor-oriented development approach, and how this has impacted the towns around the heritage site, is discussed further in sections 5.4 and 6.2.



Tourism management and effective planning approaches are vital in managing tourism in heritage sites, such as Machu Picchu. This not only minimises negative impacts to the environment or relations between the local communities and the tourists, but maximises beneficial development, whether this development be physical or emotional regarding the local people's outlook upon their heritage.

The following section will examine how tourism management strategies are affecting the World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu regarding its various stakeholders and management plans, and will assess its current planning approaches.

## **2.3 A discussion into stakeholder collaboration and management plans leading to the apparent mismanagement of the site of Machu Picchu**

Tourism management within and around Machu Picchu is affected by a variety of environmental, economic and social factors often associated with World Heritage Sites in developing countries (Regalado-Pezua and Arias-Valencia, 2006; UNEP, 2008). With tourist activity and tourist numbers rising, the resilience of Machu Picchu and its ecological sustainability is becoming a global concern, creating a need for the various managers and stakeholders of the site to act with haste to implement strategies and effective management plans in order to protect the sanctuary and its diversity for future generations. This study discusses the variety of perceptions associated with management plans, restrictions and policies at Machu Picchu. It will also outline the views of locals, residents and tourists in order to gather insights as to whether these people believe the strategies are having positive impacts upon the site and within the towns surrounding it.

In 1998, a five-year management plan was created, which was finally implemented in 2005. From this, the site was divided into seven categories so as to highlight the key areas for the different stakeholders to be responsible for. These categories consisted of Strict Protection, Wildlife, Tourism and Recreation, Special Use, Restoration, Historic-Cultural and Buffer. This management plan was initially meant to have been implemented by a “Management Advisory Committee established by the National Institute for Culture (INC) and the National Institute for Natural Resources (INRENA) in 2001” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6), with the aim to propose policies and to ensure that they are implemented in practice. This committee includes eight organisations “INC and INRENA, the Cusco Regional Government, the Regional Director of Industry and Tourism, the Rector of S. Antonio Abad National University in Cusco, the Governor of the Province of Urubamba, the Mayor of the Machu Picchu District and the Representative of the National Chamber of Tourism” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6).

The main consensus of the management is to “deal with heavy tourist use of the core site” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6), and although the INC has “improved the congested flow of tourists... (it has) not dealt with many other problems” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6). There are many management issues that stakeholders face, one of which being the “division of authority” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6) regarding the site between the INC and INRENA, where there is some confusion leading to unclear plans. This confusion is echoed within the opinions of many living near the site, or visiting it, as there are clear concerns regarding the sustainability of the site and how the region will be developed and protected in years to come. These concerns will be discussed in further detail in the following chapters.

The committee formed found difficulty in agreeing on long-term policies and current and future concerns. In 2002, UNESCO reported that many of the 38 recommendations made by the committee, remained unimplemented due to the “continued inadequacy of the site’s planning and management and

the determined individualism of the area's stakeholders" (UNESCO, 2002: 6). In addition, there is now a group comprising of twelve members which specialises in environmental concerns about the site, despite the Cusco branch of the Ministry of Agriculture dealing with the environmental work, which is adding further confusion to the management strategies.

There exists already a number of management plans, however, these have provided few answers, and which have generally intensified pre-existing disparity among the stakeholders and have pushed the groups charged with protecting Machu Picchu to breaking point (Regalado-Pezua and Arias-Valencia, 2006; Zan and Lusiani, 2011). The future of the ancient sanctuary depends on the ability to "balance preservation, utilisation and sustainable growth" (Larson and Poudyal, 2012: 933). The state is currently working with UNESCO to construct a new Master Plan (Vecchio, 2011), however reaching consensus regarding the future of Machu Picchu is proving difficult due to the diversity of the stakeholders and the interests to balance.

The limited success rate of some management attempts are usually due to their generic top-down nature which primarily focus on expert opinion, and which are not place-based frameworks guided by local knowledge and concerns (Miller and Twining-Ward, 2006; Schianetz and Kavanagh, 2008). This highlights the importance of input from all groups, which includes local residents, tourists, tour operators and site managers. It also demonstrates how it is a critical component of objective and action specification (Plummer and Fennell, 2009), alongside suggesting that local input could aid in rectifying two of the main challenges that Machu Picchu is facing; sustainable local development and the resilience of Peruvian culture. However, despite this, some suggest that the failure of these management plans is due in part to an "unbalanced emphasis on overall carrying capacity and a lack of specificity regarding management goals and objectives" (UNEP, 2008).

The remote site is under increasing pressure from developers and various other stakeholders including government officials, who want to expand tourism operations in the area (Leffel, 2005), however due to the volume and multitude of stakeholders involved, it has become a "complicated management system" (Shoobridge et al., 2004: 2). Subsequently, serious problems have been created due to the combination of insufficient effective plans and with the difficulty coordinating the departments involved. Four mission statements were released from the IUCN-ICOMOS which outlined the need for "inter-institutional management of the natural resources and for coordinated planning of tourism" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 7), with the aim of reducing the pressures of tourism by "regulating access as if to a sacred site" (UNESCO, 2002: 7). The government of Peru requires a work plan to realistically and sustainably manage the site, however the current management are yet to provide such an effective plan.

With the pressures of tourism ever rising, never has it been so critical that one is implemented with immediate effect, and providing long-term sustainable benefits. Unfortunately, the authorities and various stakeholders do not discuss plans and management together and submit separate reports, which only adds to further confusion as to the management strategies and additionally prolongs the recovery and maintenance of the site. By 2007, UNESCO remained concerned by the "lack of support received by the Unit from government ministries and its lack of overall planning and control over the site" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 7).

Machu Picchu is ranked as one of the world's most rapidly deteriorating World Heritage Sites (Hawkins, Chang and Warnes, 2009), due to threats presented by insufficient and ineffective planning, ill-managed use, deficient monitoring systems and the poor enforcement of strategies and policies. These concerns have left UNESCO little choice but to urge the Peruvian government to "revise its Master Plan for

managing the Historic Sanctuary to emphasise sustainable development" (Larson and Poudyal, 2012: 918), and also to prevent the ancient site from being recorded on the list of World Heritage Sites in danger (UNESCO, 2009).

Confusion amongst the various stakeholders regarding the management plans and strategies, and the delayed implementation of an effective plan has caused many problems in the past; some of which could have been prevented or offset, had stakeholder collaboration and understanding prevailed. Due to "poor governance...lack of integrated management and institutional coordination...lack of technical capacity and insufficient political commitment by the State" (IUCN, 2008: 7), UNESCO has once again had to consider listing the site as in danger for its own protection. There have been "delays in reviewing the master plan" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 7), of which has been proven ineffective, as well as additional delays in "developing detailed yearly operational plans as the funding for these is inadequate" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 7). One reason for these delays could lay with various disputes over land due to incomplete legal records. These records relay information of land tenure at the site and of the regions around it, which has not only led to the difficulty of expanding the buffer zone, but also to the acknowledgment of stakeholders' responsibilities for these areas.

Lack of planning has led to many having concerns with "illegal access to the sanctuary, deforestation, the risk of landslides triggered by traffic and uncontrolled urban development" (UNESCO-IUCN-ICOMOS, 2007: 7), when in 2004, a serious mudslide outlined the site's "lack of any risk preparedness plan" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 7). In 2009, damage from flooding and landslides caused an Emergency Action Plan for Risk Reduction and Disaster Recovery for Machu Picchu village to be created, which incorporated evacuation procedures and a warning system. The disaster that year also promoted the sanctuary to be a Special Protection Area and in 2010 a national decree was approved for

“environmental planning and management in areas of high potential risk from natural hazards” (UNESCO, 2010: 8). The concern in 2010 concluded that the “lack of response plans and of adequate regulation of public access and development had exacerbated the (2009) disaster” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 8).

In addition to the natural threats posed, there is an increasing problem with the unregulated expansion of the site and the area around it, including transport links. Once again, this is due to the conflict of interests shown between the stakeholders in regards to the increase in tourism revenue and the protection of the fragile environment. In 1999 and 2000, “proposed helicopter overflights and installation of a cable car to increase visitor numbers were ruled out to lessen stress on the geologically fragile site, but helicopter access was restored in 2008” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 8). Rail access is implemented without coordination, which enabled the expansion of Aguas Calientes in 2007, despite being in defiance of recommendations. In 2010, UNESCO stated that the “major natural and structural threats to the property emphasised the urgent need for better governance, planning and funding, stakeholder involvement and international technical advice”. According to Vecchio (2011), the site of Machu Picchu is a victim of its own success, and could remain so unless there is stakeholder collaboration and effective, sustainable and realistic management plans are administered.

The literature studied has led to the development of three research objectives leading on from the research aim, 'A study exploring the perceptions of those who visit, and live in the vicinity of the World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu', found in Chapter 1. These research objectives are as follows:

- To uncover which perceived measures are highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.
- To discover the key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.
- To understand the key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

## 3. Methodology

### 3.1 Overview

This chapter aims to disclose the various methods conducted in this augmented perceptions study, and how the data collected is used to draw on pre-existing academic literature. Similar studies to this have been conducted regarding tourism to Machu Picchu and to the region in which it lays.

One example can be studied through Knight and Cottrell's (2016) research into how tourism was linked to the empowerment of the local people in Cusco, Peru, with a focus on community-based tourism (CBT). Rapid qualitative inquiry (RQI) was used to collect data from June to December 2013, which has been described by Beebe (2014) as "intensive, team-based, qualitative inquiry based on a case study approach using multiple techniques for data collection and iterative data analysis and additional data collection to quickly develop a preliminary understanding of a situation from the insider's perspective". Additionally, 93 semi-structured interviews were conducted, through purposeful sampling, of community households involved in tourism.

The length of these interviews ranged from fifteen minutes to one hour, and were transcribed from Spanish or Quechua (the ancient Inca language) to English. Alternate data sources were also used in this study, such as field notes, participant observation and tourism documents, sourced from tourism associations and the local government. They uncovered how tourism has the ability to "empower rural communities and to promote sustainable development" (Knight and Cottrell, 2016: 33).



Additionally, Knight et al. (2017) also conducted research comparing how tourism-based development in Cusco, Peru, affected local views and interests. Here, data was initially collected through RQI, and was later analysed by the first author and his research assistant. Their primary data source included semi-structured interviews, in which members of the local community participated who were working in the tourist industry, alongside local people who were not working in tourism and government representatives. These interviews were then triangulated, and were presented alongside other data sources, such as field notes from participant observation and a variety of secondary documents. It was revealed that “issues of power linked to the putative common sense of promoting tourism as a principal component of national development strategies” (Knight et al., 2017: 344).

In the following sections, I will disclose and justify the techniques used to undertake this research, alongside additional details such as data sampling, collection and analysis, and limitations and ethical issues encountered.

### **3.2 Data collection methods, techniques used and justifying the approach**

Data collection is defined as a “series of interrelated activities designed to gather information in order to answer emerging research questions” (Lewis, 2015: 474). As the researcher, I chose to conduct my research through the method of qualitative research, by using semi-structured interviews as there was a need to uncover personal perceptions. I later gathered additional data via email to obtain a long-term tourist experience recollection.

Interviews and conversations, especially around controversial topics, can evoke passion, and can cause deep-rooted views and emotions to rise up to the surface. It was found to be an appropriate form of research method to uncover the perceptions sought, and is a basic, natural form of deriving such information. Moreover, I was influenced by the work of other researchers such as Cutler, Doherty & Carmichael (2018), who examined the use of the experience sampling method (ESM) in tourism studies as a way of collecting data on tourism experiences. They state that capturing qualitative verbal data by respondents answering questions verbally is believed to “allow for more open expression, reduce potential reflection time (it is quicker to talk than to type), and reduce limits on response lengths that may be inferred by text box size” (Cutler et al., 2018). They asked open-ended questions evoking emotion, which were to “capture momentary emotional reactions to experiences” (Cutler et al., 2018). Additionally, mood dichotomies in this study were derived from other ESM studies, a technique which I chose not to use as I felt mood was an irrelevant feature to uncover perceptions.

Qualitative research is the optimal method to use as a researcher, to create theories that are contextually relevant, suggestive and which evoke controversy or passion. The data collected in this perceptions study was qualitative in nature, via semi-structured interviews, which allowed me to gather true and meaningful perceptions and experiences, to compliment the demographic profiling, in an informal, comfortable environment.

As previously mentioned, I chose to gather further data upon my return to the UK via email, so as to obtain a long-term tourist experience recollection. These open-ended email surveys were conducted within 7 years of the participants returning from Peru, discussed further in section 3.3, and as stated by

Cutler et al. (2018), email is the best way to “reconnect with participants as many (move) to other regions or countries by this time”.

According to Hawkins (2018), one main advantage of conducting interviews via email is that it “offers a convenient and practical alternative to overcome geographical barriers and financial concerns”.

Furthermore, qualitative researchers who use email interviews as a method of collecting data usually find that the “scheduling advantages of the email interview increases access to participants and encourages greater participation of working adults...a distinct feature of the email interview is the ability to conduct asynchronous interviews” (Hawkins, 2018). Respondents are able to reply to email interviews in their own time suitable to them. This, in turn, allows the participant more control, which offers an ethical advantage. More often than not, participants appear to “derive pleasure from authoring their life experiences” (Hawkins, 2018), hence allowing myself a greater insight and a data boost through these additional email interviews upon returning to the UK.

Qualitative analysis is concerned with “describing the constituent properties of an entity, while quantitative analysis is involved in determining how much of the entity there is” (Smith et al., 2015: 1). Smith et al. (2015) go on to state that qualitative data through natural verbal reports allows the researcher to interpret the meaning of texts, and that for the majority of qualitative researchers, this research method is “consonant with a theoretical commitment to the importance of language as a fundamental property of human communication, interpretation and understanding” (Smith et al., 2015: 2).

I did not feel that I could conduct and analyse quantitative research in this case, as I needed to obtain deep insights and perceptions. Moreover, my key skills lay amongst social environments and I possess the ability to converse easily with strangers and foreigners alike. Furthermore, I did not wish for interviewees to feel pressure or the sense of obligation which would potentially arise from a fully-structured interview process, and I wanted people to freely express themselves and converse naturally, hence why the semi-structured approach was adopted.

Similar to the work of Anantamongkolkul et al. (2019), I chose to conduct both individual and dyadic interviews. Anantamongkolkul et al. chose this method in order to reflect the volume of travellers in Phuket travelling in pairs, and to compare the types of responses between those in individual interviews, and those being interviewed as a couple. Whilst in this research I did not make comparisons between these two types of interviews, I did however use this method with similar reasons, such as the suitability of dyadic interviews in uncovering tourist behaviour which reflects their tourist experiences. By doing this, I was able to shift the interview from a one-to-one conversation to a three-way conversation which increased both the volume of data received and the ease of the interaction. According to Bjornholt and Farstad (2014), dyadic interviews provide a richer source of data and information.

Anantamongkolkul et al. (2019) state that dyadic interviews provide a “cueing action where the information provided by one informant cues the other to remember or to take in a different direction” which allows the researcher to obtain a deeper insight into the experience or to receive an alternate stance to the situation. Moreover, due to the familiarity already present within the couple, the “co-construction of the narrative is easier to manage (and rapport) easier to develop” Anantamongkolkul

et al. (2019), and similarly, I also realised the degree of convenience in interviewing those travelling in pairs with regards to low levels of agreement, discussed further in section 3.7.

It could be argued that this study is an ethnographic study, although the term itself raises questions as to its definition. Parker-Jenkins (2018) suggested that in many cases, studies are referred to as ethnographic studies, but in actual fact are case studies which merely draw on ethnographic techniques, and do not represent the term ethnography correctly. She goes on to suggest that instead, a new term be adopted of 'ethno-case study', encompassing the benefits of both ethnography and case study. Parker-Jenkins (2018) states that it "might better convey the sense of an inquiry concerning people, which employs techniques associated with long-term and intensive ethnography, but which is limited in terms of scope, time in the field and engagement with data". In this case, Parker-Jenkins' term of an ethno-case study accurately reflects the intention of this study, with regards to its contribution to academic literature and also the limitations of the study, all of which will be addressed later in this chapter in section 3.7.

Ethnography is a type of qualitative design where the researcher can be an active participant within the culture, contributing as a fellow tourist in this case, whilst also observing participants, the environment and conducting interviews. This can be achieved through semi-structured interviews, open conversations or through group interviews and focus groups. Furthermore, the aim of ethnography is to "capture the views of participants and the researcher to provide a cultural portrait or account" (Hoey, 2014:19). Transcriptions of interviews, field notes and a method of coding transcriptions are typical of qualitative approaches like ethnography, which have been widely thought of as processes enabling the researcher to get a more thorough reality of issues and the true perceptions of these, in a way positivist research

would not be able to, owing to its scientific stance of experiments and statistics, which this study does not aim or claim to be.

## **Field Relations**

Researcher positioning is a key ethical concern within qualitative research, which I was fully aware of before arriving in Peru. I had recently obtained a degree in tourism at university in Canterbury, a famous heritage city attracting thousands of tourists each year. Due to this, I had previous experience being a resident, a student and also a tourist, and the implications of these multi-characters when conducting research. I had previously conducted tourism research in Canterbury, assessing how tourism had impacted Canterbury as a heritage city. This meant that I had a clear understanding of the importance of separating my researcher and tourist mindsets. Blaikie & Priest (2019: 125) argue that a “researcher’s values and preferences can threaten the objectivity of the research and, hence, the value of the results... detachment is a requirement for producing reliable knowledge”, detachment of which I undertook as a research method to avoid misleading results and ensure objectivity.

There is a clear challenge within ethnography of maintaining detachment and an objective stance in the process. In some cases, once the researcher makes the transition from observer to participant, the researcher may be asked to become an advocate to provide a voice for a person, group or topic. According to Jack (2010), “ethnographic research values the voices of the participants but also values the valuing of voice”, demonstrating the importance of the researcher’s position within the study. An ethnographic approach, or a study using ethnographic techniques, such in this case, requires that the

researcher considers ethical issues throughout the research and also critically reflects their own positioning of their subjective stance.

Buckley (2018) believes that there is a need for researchers to adopt a reflexive approach. For a sound research project, he states that there should be present “self-reflections by researchers on methodologies, objectives and influence considering their position relative to the research topic, and their professional relationships to respondents”. As an outsider, I had to be aware constantly of my own positioning within the research, and to offer a reflexive stance during every practice in the field. For every researcher, there is a need to be able to be accepted as someone trustworthy, so respondents will feel comfortable divulging their personal opinions, which rely greatly on the personal skills of the researcher. There was also present a concern that input from the community and from the tourists may differ with regards to respondent availability, as some would be more generous with their time, which would have an impact on whether the research would be considered as ethnography or as an augmented desk study (case study).

Dean et al. (2017) discuss how researcher positionality truly affects conclusions, and how sometimes it is important to remain normal and understand that the small, seemingly insignificant details in positionality truly aid in developing these conclusions “We are as open to the warp and weft of (research) life as much as anyone else looking at these transcripts, and so therefore these small but significant moments in our research processes provide more evidence for the necessity of reflexive and collegial practices” (Dean et al., 2017: 285).

### **3.3 Data sources and sampling**

Lewis (2015) conveys how “purposeful sampling, the types of participants to select, and the data collection activities” (Lewis, 2015: 474), are all key aspects of qualitative research.

There were a number of data sources used in this research study. In addition to studying previous research conducted in the area or on the topic through various journal articles, information including statistics was derived from various articles and research conducted by the UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme), IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature), WCMC (World Conservation Monitoring Centre) and UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation).

UNESCO deemed Machu Picchu a World Heritage Site in 1983, and are subsequently a key stakeholder ensuring that regulations at the site are kept. Due to this, there are many articles and documents produced by the organisation that relate statistical information and previous studies, which highlight, for example, the dangers that the site faces of it being blacklisted. These documents were studied for the purpose of the research aim and objectives. INC-CUSCO (The National Institute of Culture, Cusco) incorporates a region around Machu Picchu, including the tourist city of Aguas Calientes, and is again a largely-impacting stakeholder to the site; an organisation from which valuable information was extracted. Issues addressed in these documents and secondary research sources are discussed within Chapter 2, the literature review.



The sources used within this perceptions study regarding data sampling varied from local tour guides, to groups/individual tourists of varying nationalities, to local residents of the area who were not involved in the site of Machu Picchu. I realised the importance of interviewing tourists alongside local people and workers in order to obtain a rounded view of the perceptions of tourism impacts. There also appears to be a lack of tourist interviews within the academic literature relating to this topic, as many studies focus primarily on local people. There was, therefore, a need here to address the topic with foreign visitors, which would help uncover if these perceptions were shared or were centralised around the local communities.

Interviews were also conducted in the UK and via email with individuals who had previously travelled to Machu Picchu within the last 7 years, either as a researcher, or for leisure purposes, which allowed me to gain perspective on the contrast of opinions and experiences. A maximum of 7 years after the respondent's visit was selected, as the site truly began to boom in popularity and also in concern circa 2007/2008, which, therefore, required that the research be conducted from the specified time period following this to understand the fresh stance of tourism impacts within the area. Details of the respondents are discussed further in this section.

As a mixed methods approach was used here, with regards to the combination of the semi-structured interviews and the email interviews, there was a need for the sources to be varied and diverse in order to achieve an unbiased representative sample. Here, Buckley (2018) suggests that this can be possible with a "comprehensive analysis of research publications or other documents on a specific topic or wide-ranging interviews with every member of a stakeholder group". To achieve this, I ensured the

varied analysis of research publications alongside interviewing a variety of stakeholders, including tourists, tour guides and residents.

Respondents were identified on a purely random basis, however efforts were taken by making notes to ensure a demographic balance with regards to age, gender, ethnicity and interviewee status. This was done in order to minimise any bias or misleading results, and the varying profiles interviewed were monitored to ensure this balance. The importance of maintaining non-bias results is discussed through many research papers “Breaches of research integrity that biased the results would ultimately corrupt the overall body of scientific knowledge”, (Shaw, 2018: 89), displaying the necessary steps I had to take as a researcher to ensure I did not impact the results collected.

Due to the small sample size, it was paramount that the method of triangulation was used; through the cross corroboration from two or more data sources. This was to address concerns of reliability and replicability. When conducting qualitative analysis, credibility and dependability are necessary at a broad scale. Buckley (2018) suggest that evidence is required for “theoretical saturation (and) testing of the coding tree; and measures to test inter-coder reliability, such as the use of multiple coders”. In this case, similar themes and opinions were coded in three colours, discussed further in section 3.6.

The research question and objectives were discussed with a variety of subjects, from a multitude of different perspectives, in order to obtain psychographic results from a number of different respondents, through demographic targeting, such as race, role within the industry, age, gender and occupation. This method allowed me the opportunity to arrive at an adequate level of consistency across the data, from

which dependable results could be extracted and analysed. I utilised my research objectives to fully encompass each view of the participants, and demographic targeting to reach a wider audience. Together, these were to obtain a clearer, all-round picture of general perceptions.

Subjects to interview were selected at random throughout the duration of my stay, and care was taken to select a variety of participants to interview. I kept note of my respondents' demographics, and selected respondents fairly based on the demographics of those previously interviewed. This was also to ensure spontaneity and an impartial approach to the data collection. A list of the respondents can be found in the table below.

<b>Nature of respondent</b>	<b>Year interviewed</b>
Local Peruvian resident and shop owner.	2015
Peruvian tourist and regular visitor.	2015
American tourist and first time visitor.	2015
American tourist and first time visitor.	2015
Argentinian tourist and first time visitor.	2015
Dutch tourist and first time visitor.	2015
French tourist and first time visitor.	2015
Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company.	2015
British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor.	2016
British tourist and first time visitor.	2016
Email 1- British tourist, and first time visitor, via email.	2015
Email 2- British tourist, researcher and first time visitor, via email.	2015

### **3.4 Setting the scene; location and timescale**

I chose to travel to Peru in order to conduct these interviews in environments where thoughts and opinions would be unaltered, fresh and current in the minds of the participants at the time of questioning, rather than distant emotions and memories of a past experience, which would later allow for comparison with those who hadn't visited in a number of years, or who were repeat visitors. This would enable me to obtain comprehensive, detailed and up-to-date accounts of how these participants were perceiving the impacts of tourism to the vicinity of Machu Picchu. This would also permit myself to interact with the local community and tourist workers to gain a non-bias standpoint for reflective discussion and a wider breadth of understanding. Being a researcher, one "must be true to themselves and their methods... (however) the various pressures of working as a researcher can compromise the integrity of research and in turn the integrity of science", (Shaw & Satakar, 2018: 91). For me, this highlighted the necessity of measures in place in order to reduce these pressures, which would hopefully reduce the possibility for biased or misleading results which could subsequently compromise the integrity of the research. The exact locations of these interviews are discussed below.

I placed myself in a multitude of locations to conduct my interviews around the city of Cusco, the towns of Aguas Calientes and Ollantaytambo, and at the site of Machu Picchu, to ensure a non-bias selection of respondents through this positioning multiplicity. Cusco locations included a few park benches within the main square, within a local shop selling typical local clothes and souvenirs, and within a local tour company's office who were selling Machu Picchu tours. Please see details of the interview locations on the map, found in the appendices. Within Aguas Calientes, interviews were conducted at a local hotel and at the busy train station. On the way from Aguas Calientes to the small town of Ollantaytambo, a further interview was conducted on the train. More interviews were conducted during the Inca Trail and

at the site of Machu Picchu itself. In Canterbury, UK, one interview took place inside a local travel agent, and another inside a local hotel. I used my contact with the travel agent I had booked my itinerary with to interview, and was able to interview the lady at the local hotel, who was subsequently the Manager, via a Facebook outreach post for past Machu Picchu tourists. Interviewing these respondents in their place of work was convenient for them, and so I gratefully obliged.

The fieldwork research took place towards the end of March 2015 for the duration of 2 weeks, after the site closed throughout February for general maintenance, as it is each year. The research was conducted at this time of the year due to deadline constraints and availability in my calendar. It was not possible for me to conduct the research over a longer period of time, due to a need to return to the UK and also limitations of funding, most of which had already been spent on tickets to the Inca Trail and Machu Picchu.

The date of the visit was taken into consideration, as results could have varied depending on which month a tourist had visited the site; due to congestion, climate, tourist demand and seasonality, all factors which could have affected the concluding results of the research. As mentioned above, interviews were also conducted the following year in the UK; one in a hotel and another at a travel agency, as there was a need to cross-reference interviews for the purpose of triangulation. This was to establish if similar views were also held by persons who hadn't visited the site in a number of years, in order to understand if these clear perceptions gathered were generally those from more recent visits, or were shared with those whose experiences dated back to the mid 2000s.

### 3.5 Data collection

The questions asked in the interviews were constructed around the various literature studied before commencing the research trip, throughout the weeks leading up to March 2015. As previously discussed, UNEP and WCMC (2011), Larson and Poudyal (2012) and Vecchio (2011) all suggest various environmental, socio-cultural and economic impacts, whether beneficial or detrimental, that the tourism industry has been inflicting upon the site, and affecting the nearby community. I aimed to measure the consistency of the opinions studied, establishing if Machu Picchu really was the perceived recipient of harmful impacts caused by excessive tourism, and if this perspective was representative of a general consensus, or that this observation point is that of an outlier. These questions were selected and designed with the aim of uncovering a consistent opinion of Machu Picchu's tourism, and to highlight similar themes found amongst those asked alongside the literature studied. This would be to ascertain reliable data and to establish validity in this augmented desk study. Here, it should be noted that as these were semi-structured interviews, these questions were used as conversation topic guidelines only, which allowed for further, unstructured conversation.

The reliability of qualitative research is established through "accurate data recording, transcription, and/or intercoder agreement" (Lewis, 2015: 474). The interviews were recorded using a locally-purchased dictaphone, of which the sound and microphone quality was quite poor. This poor quality recording equipment contributed to the lack of clarity in recordings, which is discussed later on. I had, as previously mentioned, a very limited budget, and so was not able to purchase any professional recording devices, microphones or cameras before the trip.

The interviews began with a general discussion involving their name and role in the tourist industry; and whether they were a tourist, a business owner or a tour guide. Once their role was uncovered, discussion moved to the site of Machu Picchu; how many times they had visited and the date of their last visit. Overall impressions of the site were deliberated, including if they found it a positive or negative experience and why. Reference was also made to cultural changes; to encompass the respondent's perceptions of how the local people and their traditions had been affected by western culture. Restrictions and management schemes spotted were outlined, and how well in their opinion this had helped the site. The nearby towns and their respondents' personal experience of tourism in these towns were highlighted, together with their views on tourism dependency to residents and local businesses. The interviews were generally concluded after a final discussion involving their thoughts on whether tourism had in general benefitted and improved Machu Picchu and the area around it, or whether it was destroying it, including their reasoning behind their responses. These recorded interviews were then transcribed once I had returned to the UK, and printed to allow for coding and analysing data, which will be discussed in the following section.

Interview questions were also directed around the following three research objectives:

- To uncover which perceived measures are highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.
- To discover the key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.
- To understand the key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

### 3.6 Data analysis and extracting results

In qualitative research, data analysis is used to “learn about the meaning that participants hold about a problem or issue by identifying patterns or themes” (Lewis, 2015: 473). In this research, the data gathered through semi-structured interviews was recorded via a dictaphone, transcribed onto a computer, and printed to allow for comparative analysis. These interviews include ones conducted in Peru and in the UK. One of the recorded interviews in Peru was in French, which then had to be translated into English and then transcribed into both languages. Due to previous studies, I, the researcher, was at the time virtually fluent in French, which was how this interview was possible. Another two interviews were conducted via email, as previously mentioned in section 3.2.

Qualitative analysis aims to make a generalisation through the analysis of data. According to Buckley (2018), this can be evaluated through factors such as the “breadth of the topic; the scope of the coding tree; and the size and diversity of respondent groups”. Here, I used a variety of sources from different groups and a colour coding method to draw out key themes and opinions.

Once all the interviews were transcribed, the approach of narrative analysis was taken in the form of key quotes, phrases and other important and useful information being derived and used as the basis for forming key arguments and understanding in the data analysis. I did this through the use of highlighter pens. Any textual evidence to back up the first research objective, was highlighted in yellow, any evidence to reflect the second research objective was highlighted in green, and any evidence to reflect the third research objective was highlighted in pink. Once any valuable evidence was outlined, these quotes were then extracted from the rest of the text and placed into three columns to depict the three



research objectives. From there, I organised the quotes into themes and placed them in a way so as to discuss each one in a suitable order, linking to the next. Each quote was to be expanded upon and critically approached, while linking to academic literature, before being embedded into the thesis. Narrative analysis was undertaken as it captures both personal and human dimensions of experience over time, taking into account the relationship between the experience of an individual and the cultural context. This narrative analysis is a way of gathering, analysing and representing people's stories, challenging traditional views of reality and knowledge (Etherington, 2008).

### **3.7 Limitations**

All research methods have their problems and limitations, and the "over-reliance on any one method, at the expense of using multiple research methods, to investigate the phenomenon of interest can lead to a very limited tool box" (Bowling, 2014: 3). Being a qualitative study, the limitation of questionable reliability and replicability should be addressed primarily, which is a particular concern here due to the small sample size collected; a limitation addressed previously in section 3.3. Respondents' views are often altered depending on many variables, such as mood and weather, and therefore the perceptual information extracted within each interview would reflect this at the time of questioning.

Depending on the personality and character traits of the respondent, their opinions and motives could also easily be swayed with a mere comment or a misleading question, causing the data collected to be inaccurate. This limitation was brought to my attention through discussions with colleagues in the early stages of my study. Subsequently, I tried to ensure that the interview questions and whole process prevented any form of bias qualitative data being collected by carefully asking open-ended questions,

and responding in a reflective and impartial manner. Ultimately, the way in which the interview process was conducted aimed to address issues of reliability and replicability, as previously mentioned.

Alongside the accuracy and reliability of data collection, another potential problem foreseen in conducting this research was the possibility of not travelling to Machu Picchu, or even to Peru, which could have been due to financial reasons, availability, or extreme weather conditions, as torrential rain and mudslides are likely and could have prevented the research from being conducted. Fortunately, I was able to travel to Peru and Machu Picchu to conduct said research, despite not completing as many interviews as was hoped. Here, I encountered logistical problems, alongside a difficulty in finding respondents. Many people did not wish to stop in the streets and squares to be interviewed, and those that did spoke little or no English. Additionally, around 20% of the people asked to participate in the study did not appear to possess any opinions on the topic, and, therefore, I was unable to press them further for their views.

As previously mentioned, a key problem identified in conducting the research was the language barrier, as many interviewees and potential interviewees spoken to were Peruvian or of other nationalities, which resulted in one interview being conducted in French. As previously mentioned, it should be again noted here that I possess a degree in the French language, and so was able to comfortably converse with this participant and subsequently transcribe this interview after with accuracy. Apart from this one interview conducted in French, all other interviews conducted in Peru and in the UK, including emails received, were in English.

The majority of guides and local people were bi-lingual, which meant I encountered few limitations in interviewing them. This being said, understanding the accents proved to be challenging, alongside comprehending the recordings in order to transcribe, which resulted in very time-consuming transcription process. Additionally, some interviews were conducted on trains and at busy train stations, where noise levels were high, preventing clear recordings.

It was due to these limitations of interview numbers and quality, that further interviews had to be conducted once I had returned to the UK, and also to allow for further comparison. Many people did not respond to emails or messages left for further UK-based interviews, and those that did had vague recollections of their experience in Peru. Fortunately, I was able to conduct a couple more interviews in the UK and received some emails back. While in Peru, I was able to take down the email addresses of contacts made there, and additionally contacted my A level geography teacher through my secondary school. I am aware that a small sample size such as this, could lead to justified concerns over the reliability and replicability of the data collected. It is due to this that the importance of the literature studied to support the data gathered is therefore highlighted.

Lastly, conducting qualitative research brings with it many potential limitations, such as concerns regarding the researcher's demographic. Being a young, white female within a society of traditional views and roles regarding gender, I experienced many challenges. These challenges have been present for a long time with regards to the gender dynamics in many researcher-participant relationships, "Gender discrimination against women in academia is alive and well" (Maggio et al., 2019: 9), more common as female researchers attempting to gain and maintain access to individuals and groups in countries not as developed as the western world, such in this case.

It can be said that women usually face power struggles and are discriminated against when trying to gain this access for research purposes and maintaining trust with male participants “all female ethnographers have to adhere to an identity within, but also outside of, the most common gender expectations of their participants” (Bucerius & Urbanik, 2018). As a young, white, British woman, I did find this particularly accurate, as many men did not take the research seriously or were willing to talk, and found the environment and people quite intimidating at certain points. Gender inequality can still be found today across the academic world of research, especially in less developed countries in Latin America, “Women have fought hard to delve into the roles that historically have been created for men... where they fight against social stereotypes to achieve equal or greater recognition than men” (Gomez & Monsalve, 2018: 372), something which I discovered myself upon taking on the role of a female researcher in Latin America.

### **3.8 Ethical Issues**

More often than not, qualitative research is open-ended, which results in either research questions being “loose or not specified, so that it is doubtful whether ethnographers in particular are able to inform others accurately about the nature of their research” (Bryman, 2015: 138). The topics discussed in the semi-structured interviews were not of too personal a nature or considered offensive. The information gathered purely concerned how tourism had appeared to affect the site of Machu Picchu and its surrounding area, and how various people perceived the heritage site as a tourist destination.

I gained consent from the respondents by firstly asking if they would mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu (see questionnaire introductory paragraph in appendices). The respondents were then informed that I was writing a study based on their perceptions of tourism to the World Heritage Site.

All respondents were happy to provide their names, their nationalities and their reasoning behind their visit/what role they played in the Peruvian tourism industry. Confidentiality was maintained by not providing last names when transcribing the interviews, unless provided by email. Additionally, I did not gather any other personal information or contact details and so confidentiality and personal data protection was further maintained here.

Common in ethnographic studies, is that of intrusion and trust, in particular when using devices to record someone for controversial socio-cultural topics. There is usually a question of “ethical regulation, which has now spread across all of social science... Ethics committees often regard ethnographic work as particularly problematic... the usual means of gaining ‘informed consent’ are difficult, if not impossible, to deploy” (Hammersley, 2018: 3). To prevent offense, surprise or anger, I clearly displayed the dictaphone at all times, and asked permission to record the person before each interview commenced. It was also made clear that any information taken from each interview would only be used for academic purposes for a tourism study.

### **3.9 Data as an informative resource for the research**

The data derived from the transcriptions answered the three research objectives and also the research question through the questions asked and topics discussed in the interviews. Key points have been made relating to areas of the research, which have then been reinforced by a quote or another form of evidential data. These quotes, extracted from each interview and email, are placed in separate panels to the main text. This is to clearly group quotes based on their relevance to the subject at hand, and to also allow a free flow of descriptive text and argument. Additionally, grouping the quotes separate to the main text allows for a greater impact and outlines clearly the range of topics and opinions covered in discussion. The key themes and topics coming out of the interview transcript analysis included staged authenticity and westernisation, dependence on tourism for employment and economy, and overcrowding and congestion at site.

As previously mentioned, a total of 12 interviews were conducted between the period of March 2015 to April 2015, and between February 2016 and March 2016. These were semi-structured interviews, of which two were conducted via email. Two interviews took place at the site of Machu Picchu, a further six were conducted in nearby towns and villages, and the remaining two in the UK. The persons interviewed were tourists, tour guides, local residents and local workers who had all visited Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas at least once within the last 7 years. Valuable and useful quotes from these interviews can be found in various panels throughout each chapter, and are labelled accordingly.

## 4. Perceived measures highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.

### 4.1 Introduction

Many attempts have been made to counteract or neutralise the negative impacts from tourism. It should be noted that the Peruvian government has intervened and has "limited the number of tour operators and has improved conditions" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011) with Machu Picchu now being perceived as being regulated in a more beneficial manner "The government is...protecting the monument" local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), demonstrating the need for a higher power to take charge over the mixture and confusion of the other stakeholders. However, it can be argued that this is a relatively vague statement to make, and does not explore how the monument is being protected, or if in fact the method of protection is actually working.

By 2002, the negative effects of tourism had been highlighted and realised, and work had already commenced in reducing the destructive impacts of tourists "the Inca Trail was cleared of trash and the numbers of tourists using it were reduced" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011). In addition, tourist facilities such as hotels, restaurants and visitor centres were being constructed in the nearby tourist town of Aguas Calientes, which reduced pressure and construction on the site itself and removed a huge threat to its already fragile ecosystem, despite the town being branded as "A disaster waiting to happen" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015). This is supposedly due to its environmental instability

regarding landslides and a rapidly increasing population. It should be noted that this view can be deemed as quite extreme, as “disaster” is more commonly associated with catastrophic events, a level of danger of which Machu Picchu has not yet reached, and may not ever reach.

A management plan was proposed and supported by UNESCO which incorporated a satellite monitoring system to track the movements of the earth and trends in visitor activity around the sanctuary, in addition to UNESCO urging managers to "develop a thorough risk preparedness plan for the site" (UNESCO, 2006). There is an increasing need to devise reliable strategies for preventing the degradation of the site whilst the numbers of tourists visiting continue to rise rapidly (Larson and Poudyal, 2012). It appears that while the various managers and stakeholders are in agreement as to the sustainable development goals, the Master Plan put forward initially still lacked a clear consensus regarding the management strategies and to whom is responsible for implementing them.

Furthermore, the Plan "does not adequately describe how this philosophy should (be) dictate(d)" (UNESCO, 2011). Overall, the main objective that should be paramount in achieving for all stakeholders involved, is that of Machu Picchu's carrying capacity and how it should be regulated (Larson and Poudyal, 2012). This, however, cannot fully be addressed until the damage already caused by poor planning strategies is fully understood and rectified, only then can the management move forward to prevent these impacts from reoccurring.

The key topics in the following section cover the restriction of tourist numbers, periods of closure and renovation, general restrictions, defined routes and the general management of the site.



## 4.2 Discussion

### The Restriction of Tourist Numbers

In recent years, the number of tourists visiting the site of Machu Picchu and its surrounding areas has increased dramatically, which has in turn greatly accelerated the rate of degradation at the site. Thus, it has been and will continue to be imperative that tourist numbers are addressed and restricted in some way. The various stakeholders involved in managing Machu Picchu have started to implement these restrictions upon the site “Years ago, when they decided to restrict the quantity of tourists, I think was a good decision” Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), and also at some of the features associated with the sanctuary, such as the Wayana Picchu climb and on the Inca Trail itself. One point that must be highlighted here, is the lack of detail in which the respondent in question divulges; there is no reason given as to why it was a good decision to restrict the numbers, nor has any information been provided to outline the restricted number or subsequent results from this management strategy.

One management plan proposed, suggested that in order to “reduce environmental deterioration, the archaeological site should not support more than 917 visitors per day and no more than 385 visitors at any one time” however the INC suggested a “maximum carrying capacity of 2000 visitors a day with an increased entry fee” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011), displaying the differing of opinions between stakeholders. Whilst they are aware that increased numbers of tourists and entry fees will in turn increase tourism revenue and overall expenditure, the impacts upon the environment and ecosystem will be greatly affected. With the increased entry fee, one would presume that the revenue would return to the site itself to improve conditions and counteract any site destruction caused by the tourists, however this

speculation is yet to be proven, as the management of the site continue to disagree on such matters (please refer to Chapter 6, section 6.3 on further restrictions and rules).

The Wayana Picchu trail, meaning 'small mountain' in Quechua, the ancient Inca language, is a steep climb up the smaller mountain situated off Machu Picchu. Here, restrictions in tourist numbers have already been set in motion to protect the fragility of its rare ecosystem. It has a "Restriction of 400 people a day, so if you don't have a ticket ahead of time then you can't really look" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), a strategy which many would agree with, considering it is merely a first come first served basis, however others could find it difficult and expensive to purchase a ticket, rather than walking up freely without limitations. Here, the respondent implies that not everyone will get a chance to climb it, which could be seen as unfair, however the respondent has not supplied a personal view as to whether they believe that this is a beneficial restriction, or the subsequent consequences of this.

Whilst restricting and managing Wayana Picchu, this is resulting in the whole area being protected, rather than just the sole attraction "The Wayana Picchu climb is restricted to only 200 people am and 200 people pm again to help stop the damage being major" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015), implying that the number of tourists visiting the site are already causing damage, despite a lack of clarification here as to how this restriction is reducing the destruction.

The Inca Trail is now "limited by permit to 500 a day in groups of 30" (UNEP and WCMC, 2011), which shows that the strategy of reducing tourist numbers is also being used here. Additionally it is displaying the severity of the Trail's management, whilst also highlighting the preparation that is required to

participate in the trail, due to the size and safety regulations of the excursion "It's a few days hike and you have to be with a guide, you have to get the permit six months in advance" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). It should be noted here that the respondent has not expanded and explained why the permit has to be bought so far in advance, nor why the guide is necessary, therefore one must make a conjecture using the literature previously studied to ascertain why this is the case.

The trail has had to restrict tourist numbers due to the vulnerable environment and concerns in health and safety, alongside the welfare of the tourists "If they just let as many people as they wanted walk up...without guides...you'd get people getting lost...they close it down in February to let the grass regrow...if they didn't manage the amount of people, it would just completely ruin it, it would wear down the path literally" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). Although this appears to be mere speculation, this management strategy could be beneficial to both the tourists and to the environment, as if it were not so, the dangers could be quite extreme for all, thus minimising the risks to both and providing the environment with an opportunity to regenerate.

Furthermore to the pathways of the Trail, many bridges have been constructed to ease access along the narrow and treacherous walkways and rocky areas "There's the little bridges...if you just had as many people as they wanted walking along those bridges, I don't think they'd last quite as long as they have, then they do need time to fix things up as well" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), implying how additions to the site, such as bridges and other pathways, would be seriously damaged without these restrictions in numbers. Again, it must be indicated that this is pure speculation, as the respondent did not provide any further insights or evidence to corroborate this claim.

Restrictions in tourist numbers are also easily regulated through rail travel from the city of Cusco to the site of Machu Picchu, as it is situated three hours away by rail, which “facilitates control of visitors and roadside developments” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6). All in all, “excessive tourism” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011: 6) to the site is damaging an already fragile environment and ecosystem, endangering species, disrupting the natural habitats and destroying historic ruins of huge cultural-heritage importance, which is a huge threat to the entirety of the region. Regardless of this, the management strategy of reducing tourist numbers and implementing paid-in-advance permits appears to be staggering the influx of tourists and creating a more controlled and better-managed flow.

McClanahan and Abunge (2015), studied how fishing restrictions in south-east Africa affected the perceptions of the tourism stakeholders and the local residents and found that the “differences between managers and resource users in their perceptions of specific restrictions indicated that overall managers scaled nearly all restrictions benefits high...resource users and managers agreeing that restrictions benefitted the individual and communities more than the government” (McClanahan and Abunge, 2015: 10), displaying the positive outcome of the management’s restriction policy.

### **Periods of Closure and Renovation**

Each year, throughout the month of February, the site of Machu Picchu is closed to visitors in order to allow the site to recover and for the grass to grow back. It also gives the management of the site a chance to assess the extent of damage and erosion caused by the tourists and to make preparations to further protect the site and environment during the following tourist season. By doing this, it demonstrates how the stakeholders are managing certain aspects very seriously “The fact that they

close down the Inca Trail once a year and things like that, they're managing it better than other countries manage certain monuments and things, but it's still very different to anywhere else in Peru really" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), and how the authorities understand the importance of letting the environment recover and maintaining it. Here, the respondent has not divulged further information regarding additional management strategies aside from its period of closure, nor have they expanded and demonstrated how the Peruvian government is managing the Inca Trail more successfully compared to other countries and their equivalent in historical structures, which can create doubt as to the accuracy of the statement.

Primarily, one needs to fully grasp the extent of the impact and damage, then the importance of management, recovery and preservation to maintain quality to visitors in order that revenue is consistent and is reinvested back into the site. Despite this, many believe that one month is not long enough to let the site recover fully from the dramatic side effects of tourism "I think they should possibly close it twice a year...they're going to have to manage it in a better way...it needs to be reducing, or extending the amount it's actually closed, coupled with reducing the number of tourists...if that means increasing the price then so be it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). This extra renovation time may be needed to cope with growing numbers in order to maintain standards, which is implied within this statement through the belief that the current management strategies need adjusting, in spite of the lack of reasoning behind these suggestions.

Sustainability plays a huge role in modern tourism, in particular tourism concerning a fragile environment that is subject to destruction, such as Machu Picchu "I know there is (sustainability), with regards to the Inca Trail closing down in February...Machu Picchu itself, like the grass...seemed

surprisingly well maintained for the amount of people that are there” British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), depicting a clear sign of sustainable management, showing that whatever strategies are currently in place appear to be working. It should be noted here that aside from the good quality grass, the respondent does not supply any further detail as to anything else that appeared well-maintained, therefore additional efforts of sustainability at the site must be left for speculation.

More often than not, the amount of tourists using the site is the main reason for its degrading state “It’s the wear and tear of the people using the facilities, the biggest threat to sustainability I think” British tourist and first time visitor (2016), despite this being unintentional destruction, one has to expect some level of erosion concerning tourists visiting any one place. Here, it is the respondent’s opinion, based on one visit, that persons visiting any one site poses as sustainability’s biggest threat, to which no further evidence was supplied to support this theory.

These positive management strategies of closing a site for the purpose of its recovery, are beneficial to both tourists and to the environments in question, as it not only keeps the standards of the site high but also fulfils, and in some cases exceeds, the expectations of the tourists.

### **General Restrictions**

In addition to reducing tourist numbers and closing down the site for renovation, there have been some general restrictions enforced at the site of Machu Picchu, to further protect it from the negative tourism impacts. Some basic restrictions have been implemented "No food, no smoking" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which may be frustrating for some tourists, although the respondent did not

highlight any further restrictions, so one must assume that there are only two. These could be seen as particularly strict, but it was generally perceived that the tourists respect these rules “The instructions are good, don’t bring food, don’t bring water, don’t shout, and everybody is acting like that” Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), despite no clear indication given as to the reasoning behind these restrictions.

These management strategies are seen as very clear and are understood well throughout the vast diversity of people visiting the site “For me, the (restrictions) were fine, it was clear what you weren’t allowed to do, do not go there, because if 500 people every day go there and climb a wall, it will fall down, it’s clear” Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015). This implies how the people are directed well and the management and tourists seem to have a clear understanding of how their actions can affect the sanctuary itself and the environment on which the site is situated. Once again, the restrictions here are highlighted without an explanation as to why they have been implemented or any evidence or suggestion given displaying the results of these rules.

The concern over littering has been extremely prominent ever since the Inca Trail was cleared of rubbish in 2003. The management have fully understood that with increased tourist numbers, comes an increase of waste produced by each person. According to some tourists, the risk of this has been counteracted by the number and visibility of the waste disposal areas and bins provided on and around the site “Various different coloured recycling bins, although...there were piles of rubbish” British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), which shows how the management are attempting to look after the area and to recycle. This respondent has also implied that despite the presence of appropriate litter bins, there is still

a large amount on and around the structure, which causes concern as to the effectiveness of this strategy and to what extent these restrictions are being enforced.

This, however, is a perception that it is only displayed in certain areas “I didn’t notice so much the littering...you see a bit of litter on the trail...people were quite respectful, so overall I would say no...you’d see a couple of times people had left a trash bag ” British tourist and first time visitor (2016), and of course, is very much dependent on the observation skills of the person acknowledging these piles of litter, suggesting that the problem could be much greater. The littering does not give the impression of being too prominent, which would imply that either the people are respectful or that it is collected and cleared away.

The Inca Trail management has had to enforce strict rules, in order that the fragile ecosystem is protected from being damaged “Strict ecologically sustainable rules applied to it i.e. all rubbish has to be carried out” British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), however, the respondent here does not supply ample information explaining how the management ensures that this litter is removed. Barros et al. (2015) researched how tourism is damaging the ecosystems in the Andes, and found “common issues raised by local communities included littering, high traffic, collection of plants and habitat degradation...trail erosion, damage to native plants from trampling...lack of environmental education, patrolling and trail design and maintenance” (Barros et al., 2015: 86).

One prominent and renowned attraction at Machu Picchu, is that of the sacred stone, of which one is supposed to receive healing and spiritual forces from touching it. It was observed by some that two



years ago, this stone, unfortunately fell under some of the strict restrictions now in place at the site "It was roped off and off-limits and tourists were not allowed to touch the stone" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). It is from this that one has to decide whether some of these management strategies are perhaps too strict and unnecessary, or whether it has now got to a point where they can no longer allow such privileges to the general public for fear of these sacred monuments being destroyed beyond repair. Here, one must make an assumption that alongside the rope there was signage explaining to the tourists that the stone was not to be touched, as the respondent has not included any further indication that this was in fact the case.

Many could argue that it is for everyone to enjoy and experience, however, restrictions can be necessary for protection "So many people were touching the stone and it was actually making the stone oily from the hands and they'd have to clean it, and it became an issue where they thought that it was harming the stone for future generations" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), despite the respondent not making an indication here as to their personal opinion. The Incas believed in this sacred energy and wanted to share it through touch, but in order for this stone to sustain and be present in its current state for future generations, there is a perceived need to prevent access to it in order for it to be protected.

### **Defined Routes**

Alongside managing such a large influx of tourists, it is paramount that these huge numbers are directed along a planned route so as to avoid confusion and congestion "Clearly defined routes that everyone is walking up...like anywhere you have to be respectful of things, basically follow the lines" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This respondent does not explain whether these routes were in reference to the Inca Trail, or to the site itself, so cannot be taken as a general statement as it does not

reflect the entire area. This, however, does display how well the routes are labelled which allow the visitors to follow accordingly; this strategy to manage the flows through signage is obviously working well. These signs can be found in various locations at the site, alongside people instructing you away from prohibited areas “There were some people who were working there who would tell you not to go there or not to stand on stuff, like the ruins” Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), whilst managing and enforcing the rules. Here, the respondent does not explain if these workers at the site are representatives of a certain management stakeholder, in order to ascertain their primary motives for instructing the tourists.

These people would also advise on direction, rather than just act as a blockage “Like a route, go here go here, the people that tell you not to stand on the grass or something, with the Llamas, I think it was pretty controlled, I found that tourists are respectful for a place like this...they don’t just throw away garbage” Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015). It can be perceived through this statement that the routes were created to manage the flow and direction of tourists to control congestion and erosion, alongside the workers in question. Additionally, to help reduce degradation further, the “Footpaths had been hardened to prevent erosion, parts had been roped off, you are not allowed to touch the altar” British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), portraying the various ways to manage these effects of tourism, despite a lack of evidence here depicting the success, or lack of success, of the restrictions.

Some areas were “Cordoned off to protect them from tourists and the paths are clearly signed posted so that you don’t go anywhere you shouldn’t” British tourist and first time visitor (2015), implying that the tourists were clearly monitored and encouraged to explore in a flow, and despite there being these strict

regulations, the tourists respond in a positive, understanding manner to endeavour to protect the environment alongside the sanctuary itself. It should be noted here that the respondent does not suggest any clear reasoning as to why certain areas are prohibited to tourists, which causes a lack of thorough understanding as to the tourists' impacts to the site.

As well as controlling the tourist flow at the site itself, strategies have also been enforced by the management to reduce congestion at the bus stop and along the Trail "It's very much, this is the area the tourists stand in to get the busses...down to things like the Inca Trail and the permits...they are managing it quite well" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This demonstrates the mandatory level of organisation needed concerning the number of people involved each day; despite the vague mention of the management, which creates difficulty in establishing who is responsible for guiding the tourists and their rationale in doing so.

All in all, there is clear evidence that these management strategies involving tourist limitations are implemented and are currently aiding the situation. On the other hand, Barros et al. (2015) studied how trekkers and animal packs impact the Inca Trail, and discovered that the "relationship between increasing intensity of use and damage to the environment does not always show a curvilinear response...a common management strategy of concentrating visitor use is based on assuming that initial use has the greatest impact...testing the shape of the relationship between increasing use and damage is important in the Andes, particularly where sites are of high conservation value" (Barros et al., 2015: 87), displaying how management strategies cannot simply be a 'one size fits all' and how sometimes other factors may indeed be the key, perhaps under-looked, problem.

## **General Management**

Overall, past problems have highlighted where these strategies have fallen short and outlined the need for more realistic plans to be administered. Stakeholders are starting to find the balance between maintaining revenue and also promoting and sustaining the Peruvian heritage “They’re trying to keep it as true to its heritage as possible...it appeared that they were very conscientious about protecting it” British tourist and first time visitor (2015). Here, the respondent does not include any further details as to how the management are trying to preserve the Peruvian heritage, nor do they divulge which management stakeholder is responsible for this sector, which could create disparity. This realistic conservation and maintenance is necessary to respect the history of the world heritage site.

On the other hand, this protection has also “promoted the area for its value to the tourist industry, conflicting aims which make for difficulty in controlling the site” (UNEP and WCMC, 2011), demonstrating the difficulty in which the stakeholders can find themselves in regarding striking this important balance. Aside from the tour guides and workers at the site itself, the general security appeared to be partially negligent “I didn’t notice security guards or anything like that really, they could have been there but they’re not part of my memory” British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). It should be indicated here that this statement would depend on the respondent’s level of awareness and observation skills, suggesting that there could have been more security present, who were merely unnoticed by this particular individual. This apparent lack of evident and widespread security could be a concern considering the amount of people present, however increased security might unnerve some people, which could therefore lessen the experience.

General maintenance at the site was also prominent, with the buildings themselves and various pathways being renovated "They did reconstruct roofs and things like that, but that's also to protect the buildings...the original structures, so I think it's a good job" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It is important to note that repairs should be in-keeping with the traditional designs; it is paramount to not only recreate original structures but also to maintain health and safety standards and regulations. Here, the respondent does not outline the methods and materials used to renovate said structures, nor has it been explained how the authorities ensured that they were in keeping with the original designs so as not to negatively impact the site culturally, which could subsequently raise questions of reliability.

### **4.3 Overall Management Perceptions**

Taking everything into account, the most important factor here is that of stakeholder collaboration. It is only with this collaboration and the awareness of the various responsibilities held, that Machu Picchu will sustain for future generations to utilise, appreciate and learn from. Currently, the tour companies are "thinking of profit. Our task is to give to the next generation the opportunity to continue seeing this wonder for centuries to come ... In ten years' time there will no longer be a Machu Picchu. It's not only part of our heritage. It's a part of humanity's" (Collins, 2007; Larson and Poudyal, 2012: 918). There is a tremendous need for a realistic management plan to be established and implemented, one which encompasses sustainable development and that shows full awareness of the negative impacts brought from tourism if it is not managed accordingly. Current management strategies, such as restricting numbers, will work in the short-time, but this site cannot fully prosper and blossom sustainably into the future without every stakeholder confident in a pragmatic master plan.

## 5. The key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

### 5.1 Introduction

It can be argued that visiting Peru, and more notably the site of Machu Picchu itself, is on everyone's bucket list. A place, a destination where they have dreamed of visiting, and also somewhere where not everyone is lucky enough to travel to in their lifetime. To visit Machu Picchu, has been branded by many as a "Bucket list item" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), due to its uniqueness and by being completely incomparable with any such site on this earth. It is for this reason that it is on "So many different travel lists" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), in which the media has aided in dramatically through the use of marketing, by advertising it as one of the top things to see and do. It is not only a natural wonder, but it is also of huge cultural and historical importance "People go because it is one of the modern wonders of the world, it is one of those that does not disappoint...it is the setting which makes it spectacular" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), although the respondent did not develop upon their choice of the word "modern", which one could argue that the site is only a bucket list item due to tourism and modern day marketing and media.

The ancient Inca settlement has been described as "Out of this world" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015), an incredible site and spectacle to behold, which portrays how special it is to humanity; this amazing, global treasure. One would have to assume here that this statement was from a positive

outlook, as in usual conversation the saying would imply that the subject in question would be impressive and an enjoyable experience.

The archaeological significance of Machu Picchu has certainly put Cusco on the map and has made the old capital a must for tourists' tours of South America. The location of the city and also of the settlement has enabled Cusco to be an overnight stopover for visitors in the very least, and hosting huge numbers of tourists each day. This in turn has created employment opportunities and tourist expenditure at not only the site of Machu Picchu, but also in the surrounding areas, resulting in Cusco ranking among the continent's top destinations (Van Den Berghe and Ochoa, 2000).

The key topics in the following section cover the sociocultural impacts, including the quality of life and overall happiness; civic pride, heritage, culture and traditions; historical importance and personal gain, empowerment and internal growth. The subsequent section covers the environmental impacts, including sustainability, development, infrastructure and accessibility; regeneration, conservation, preservation, awareness and protection and the overall appearance, overcrowding and site atmosphere. The remaining section encompasses the economic impacts regarding employment opportunities, tourism revenue, dependency and the increase in business growth.

## **5.2 Perceptions of Sociocultural Impacts**

### **Quality of life**

Tourism to any destination brings with it benefits in some form. Here, one can see how the industry of tourism has impacted the local people of Cusco and the region of which it lays through their change in

quality of life. There is a danger that tourism can alter a person's outlook in life and make them lose touch of who they are. Nevertheless, it has been perceived that in spite of this, these local people have retained their appreciation for the simple and important things in life, of which tourism has merely enhanced rather than altered "They have their self-respect, they have the ability to care for their families, they have a richness in their life" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). One could argue here that these indigenous people could still possess all these elements without the existence of tourism, therefore not validating that tourism to Machu Picchu is the reason that these persons have a good quality of life. This notion of a good quality of life is in itself a subjective notion, from which can be interpreted in many ways.

Community-based tourism has aided this, by advertising its services through an honest and authentic tourist experience, which has proved popular, according to some "They only use local guides, they only use local communities, you eat with local families you stay with local families...but you get so much for your money" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). In spite of this, it could be of some concern that the respondent here has chosen to explain the benefits to this form of tourism through personal financial savings, and not through the desire to help the local communities. Community-based tourism allows the tourists to receive the true tourist experience, without glorification or westernisation; a chance for them to contribute to the local economy and give something back directly to the locals. This form of tourism allows the tourist workers and inhabitants to feel a sense of empowerment, which, according to Knight and Cottrell (2016), is an essential component of poverty alleviation. This empowerment enables people to "develop their capabilities, have a sense of control over their wellbeing and lead dignified lives" (Knight and Cottrell, 2016), which in turn creates an enormous sense of worth and increases levels of happiness.



This empowerment, and realisation of the importance of tourism to community spirit, has even made an impact upon the judicial system in Peru. Due to the influx in visitor numbers, safety and crime prevention is more significant than ever. The authorities have had to intensify their efforts, and are perceived to be reporting an increased number of cases "Police being a little bit more honest in Peru, they'll actually report a crime" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This could demonstrate how the growth in Peruvian tourism is causing the local police to take crime much more seriously, which would subsequently create a happier, safer and more secure environment for residents and tourists alike. On the other hand, this statement could imply that crime levels in Peru could potentially appear higher than in other neighbouring countries, creating misconceptions and inaccurate data. Overall, it could be argued that tourism has provided the Peruvian people with a greater quality of life that they may not have otherwise had "I think that tourism has changed the whole area for the better, for the standards of living most definitely" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), despite living standards being the only example given in this statement.

### **Civic pride, heritage, culture and traditions**

One key reason for the popularity of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas as a tourist destination, is its incredible tangible and intangible heritage, which is demonstrated through the country's culture and traditions, whilst instating a vast amount of civic pride into its citizens. Machu Picchu itself poses of a huge importance to Peruvians "It's very important, this connection with your culture, it gives real proof of your society, it's not just like a monument" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), which could raise concerns that locals may not feel that tourists see it as any more than just a monument. It is mainly due to the outside world and the interest it has shown in their Peruvian culture and heritage that they are now immensely proud of their ancestry "They all seem really proud of their cultural heritage,

yeah they seem to like to talk about it a lot, in particular the native Peruvians, they're adopting that quite a bit" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). Here, it could be argued that the reason behind the local people's perceived increase in interest in their heritage is due to the realisation of the potential financial gain through tourism. The use of the word "adopting" here could suggest that it is an interest of which they did not previously possess.

Through the interest the western world has shown the region, their local pride and passion appears to have blossomed as a consequence of this "Heritage is very important to the people there, it seemed like all the locals were so proud of their heritage and so proud of everything to do with their history and they appear to be very very proud possessive people of their heritage" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). The use of the word "possessive" here could be deemed as concerning, suggesting the new-found tourism revenue could start to propagate greed.

Tourism appears to have also installed passion into these communities "The local people have regained pride in their Inca heritage...it has re-ignited cultural traditions" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015). Once again, the use of the words "regained" and "re-ignited" here suggest that the apparent love of their culture has only stemmed recently through the surge of tourists to the region, and was not already present. According to Van Den Berghe and Ochoa (2000), the very symbols of local pride have become the prime tourist attractions. The industry of tourism has created a sense of "civic pride and identity and a booming industry for Cuzqueños, and a major attraction for visitors...the region's leading source of income and development" (Van Den Berghe and Ochoa, 2000). The Cuzqueños in question have created their own story by reinventing their heritage, and by doing this, have elevated

their vision of themselves and have validated what the tourists come to see (Van Den Berghe and Ochoa, 2000).

Through tourism, the local people have found a way to continue their traditions and cultural skills for the pleasure and appreciation of others less-knowledgeable "Clearly they're very proud of their handicrafts, and I thought it was very nice seeing the way that they continue with their handicrafts, their embroidery, their knitting, beautiful" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). This raises questions as to whether the continuation of these arts and crafts are purely for the intention of financial gain through tourist purchases and interest. The tourism industry has allowed the local people to immerse themselves in these activities and crafts, in this case it is seen in a very positive light, bringing more diversity and creativity to the city of Cusco "In Cusco you have shops, handicrafts, museums and ruins" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). This could highlight potential overdependence on tourism through the types of attractions listed here.

Locals appear to have realised and understood that their traditions and culture are some of the key reasons why tourists visit "We make all the days a tradition we don't change, when we have traditions we have more tourists, no more tourists come here and the traditions don't change, especially the traditions with tourists or no tourists" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). Here, it is clearly suggested that with an increase in traditional activities comes an increase in tourism, which could imply that certain activities are not authentic.

As well as admiring and purchasing the general splendour brought about by these native crafts, the tourists also see it as a means of escape from their modern world and a chance to understand and appreciate how other people live "I think the people come here to try to look for culture for all traditions for things that are losing a lot of places in the world" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). Machu Picchu is raw, it is still reasonably untouched and preserved and hasn't been affected yet by the western world "The society in the world is trying to disappear, all the culture, the globalisation is not bad, but it has to be respectful about all of the traditions" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), however the respondent appears to raise concerns regarding tourism affecting culture and creating globalisation. Machu Picchu and the city of Cusco are unique compared to other cities, in Peru, in the continent, even around the world; it has its own niche and is seen as an escape from reality "People want to see that way of life that they don't find in the main cities" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), although the respondent does not explain how their way of life is different.

Alongside the negative impacts of tourism mentioned so far, there is usually a concern that traditions and raw unspoiled culture are lost as globalisation takes over. In the area of Machu Picchu, the people have learnt to utilise their past, rather than forget it. They appear to possess a huge awareness for the importance of their heritage, and are building on their culture to expand it beneficially. Their history is so strong and important to them that they won't let tourism affect it "People who are indigenous to Cusco... their life today is inextricably linked to their ancient past and their more recent past with the Spanish influence...they don't move forward at the expense of losing their past...I think that will endure, I don't think tourism will change that" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This, of course, conflicts with other opinions that tourism has already affected their culture in the way of authenticity, therefore cannot be taken as a representative standpoint.

The residents of Cusco are also still in keeping with religious traditions and culture, being a strong catholic nation, and are staying true to what they believe in "We have seen lots of traditions, many people have gone to the church" French tourist and first time visitor (2015). One could argue that religion is a separate entity to tourism and that there is no real evidence in that the two could be strongly linked, as religion is not perceived as the primary motive for tourism to the area. In Cusco, one can find a mixture of cultures from different historical backgrounds, and also a combination of the different generations, showing contrast between their Spanish and Inca heritage "In Cusco it's a lot more important for the culture because we have many archaeological places from different cultures...many messages the people write in the books" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). This view appears to only be linked to Cusco, as if it is the last remaining genuine historical sector in the region.

In general, the heritage, culture and traditions of the region of Machu Picchu, are the key reasons why the site receives so many visitors. Machu Picchu itself is a unique special place, and is seen as the place to go, the thing to see; the site is world famous "The principal place in Cusco is Machu Picchu. It's the wonder of the world, and a lot of person want to visit...they arrive in Cusco and say I want to visit Machu Picchu...some tourists will spend one or two more days here, visit the sacred valley or some other place, but the principal motive to arrive in Cusco is Machu Picchu" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). This raises concerns that the tourist attention is not spread evenly throughout the region, which could cause strain upon one small localised spot. In addition to the world heritage site, there are also various other places within the area to visit that are also interesting.

Overall, Cusco is an excellent tourist city, which is well-maintained with great facilities, and is very accommodating and friendly "Different archaeological place...Cusco is also a really nice city, a lot of tourists come here and say Cusco is impressive because here has many places for visitors, many places where is possible to stay and relax without noise, it's also interesting in Cusco, different than Machu Picchu" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). The respondent highlights here the huge reliance Cusco appears to have on tourism, as many of its attractions and shops seem to be catered primarily for the visitors.

In spite of the influx of tourism, Cusco seems to have retained its personality and culture, and hasn't become over-developed and westernised "I didn't think tourism had ruined Cusco no, I thought it was very true to itself, I mean you know when you consider how popular it is...I don't think tourism has taken away any of their traditions " British tourist and first time visitor (2016), suggesting that tourism has not altered nor has it affected the traditions and culture of the Peruvian people. If anything, one could say that tourism has enriched their life and traditions further and not altered it. Their traditions have become embedded amongst the tourism, and the realisation of its value and importance has allowed it to become protected, intangible heritage "I didn't think that it had an adverse effect at all, the people actually seemed to get along with their life alongside the tourism" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It could be suggested here that tourism has now become a normality in the lives of the local people, which could create future complications regarding overdependence.

### **Historical importance**

Due to its fascinating past, Machu Picchu is of huge historical importance. It is a chance to see how people lived hundreds of years ago, a special unique experience, and can make people value their

lifestyle whilst appreciating history "They think they are going to move back in the time" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). The site enables people to capture the past, and experience what was there before them. It is educational and enlightening "When you're at a place like Machu Picchu, you realise so much wisdom has been lost, and then when we discover some of that wisdom, it's almost like we're grabbing something new that we've discovered, when actually it's been there all along" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), although there is of course no evidence to suggest that you can obtain wisdom from the site; this is purely speculation.

According to Timothy (2017), heritage can be conserved for educational and scientific purposes "new discoveries or well-established sites are common venues for research by archaeologists, anthropologists, biologists, historians, geographers and other heritage specialists. Data and information gleaned from such places provide a wealth of new knowledge and are important reasons for conserving historic places" (Timothy, 2017: 7), portraying how tourism can help protect the heritage in question in order to study it for educational, cultural and scientific purposes.

As previously mentioned, tourism has the ability to alter traditions and culture, and subsequently the importance of history to society, whether this history be tangible or intangible "I wouldn't say ruined, I would say that because catering to tourists, there is still all that history in us" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This displays how tourism hasn't changed what is in the heart of the people; history is still as important, and the industry hasn't negatively altered the city of Cusco, despite clearly stating how the area has catered to the tourists.

Irrespective of this, in certain situations it seems that varying the historical content for the intent of the tourist experience can be beneficial with regards to staged authenticity, "It's such a unique thing to see, that I think it had to be staged to demonstrate what it was about...it was really clever, the way they showed all the stages how they made things how it used to be...you can't know that without it being shown, so it was useful" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). This conveys how sometimes it is necessary to stage things in order to understand and appreciate the historical content, and such an approach can be used to educate and demonstrate. On the other hand, one cannot assume that all staged authenticity is made entirely apparent, which could create uncertainty and untrustworthy experiences.

### **Personal gain, empowerment and internal growth**

Machu Picchu is famously known as a site of great spiritual energy, with thousands of people making pilgrimages there each year to find inner peace and empowerment. The Inca Trail is used by many as not only a scenic route to the sanctuary, but also as a personal goal and journey towards the prize which is the site. It holds a special place in the heart of countless people "Machu Picchu is amazing, you can feel the energy there, I feel wonderful and I think all the people that go are good" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), although one must highlight the apparent naivety from this statement, as one clearly cannot deduct whether a person is good or not because they visit a spiritual site.

It is a sacred, special and unique place that will always attract visitors, due to this special energy "A lot of tourists going to Machu Picchu because it's an important place in Cusco...it's a spiritual place...when the people arrive here they take the energy, all the people going it's positive" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). Again, there is no evidence to suggest that this "energy"



exists; this is merely speculation and could possibly be a ruse to attract visitors. Machu Picchu was built on the notion that this particular energy was positive, and was to be shared among everyone, thus many tourists believe it to promote the idea of unity and sharing, of the environment, of knowledge, experience and spirituality. "I think a place like Machu Picchu it makes you more aware of the connection with all of nature, it's a universal experience and it connects everyone, even the tourists...a comradeship with the other tourists, this is a very special place" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Here, the respondent suggests that the key reason for the connection with other people is through the existence of the incredible scenery and natural surroundings, with no mention of energy.

The site is treasured by so many, and is very dear to people "That is just the most amazing place, just so beautiful and so, you know, inspiring" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It also teaches valuable life lessons, which accentuates the personal gain one can obtain through visiting it and allows the tourist to fully make the most out of the experience "You get this sense of ancient knowledge lost, a greater respect for the past, that maybe we're not the big know-it-alls after all...there's a lot we can learn from the past" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), although the respondent fails to explain here how one can gain a greater respect for the past or what current generations can learn from the site.

One can argue that without tourism, this entire experience and the chance to gain this wisdom and enlightenment might not be possible "I guess in order to make it happen, tourism has to be a part of it, and so maybe there's some positive in the tourism after all, and knowing that everybody's there trying to share that same experience" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This statement makes the assumption that the visitors all share the same motive to visit the site, as there was no further information given to back up this claim. Memories created from the site seem to be of an overall positive

experience "It was beautiful, I expected it to be beautiful, and it was amazing...being there is a whole other experience than a picture...something I will never forget...I'm going to actually have an enriched experience from that because my actual experience...I'll probably have a delayed spiritual experience" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This implies the importance of visiting and seeing the site first-hand and how doing this can help enrich people's lives. The claim of a "delayed spiritual experience" must be highlighted here as subjective, as there is no evidence to suggest that the site affects every visitor in the same way.

As previously mentioned, the Inca Trail to the site of Machu Picchu, is sometimes seen as a pilgrimage, a testing journey to discover one's personal inner strength, where the arrival at the sanctuary is the prize; the end goal. The act of walking can connect us with history and culture. Arellano (2004), refers to the Trail as a "rite of passage" which enables tourists to experience "real Incaness" (Cutler et al., 2014). These findings draw similar conclusions to Neumann's (1992) Grand Canyon research where experiences of hiking can emphasise physical and mental struggles, and which result in "stories of endurance, perseverance, and accomplishment" (Cutler et al., 2014). The tourist can feel a sense of having achieved something, and can contribute to personal development, alongside a sense of pride and personal growth. Cutler et al. (2014) found that the hike is connected to the ability to enjoy Machu Picchu and that it is remembered as a historic icon but also a site of triumph.

The media plays a huge part in creating and encouraging tourism to the site, by making people aware of places they never knew about or thought of visiting, which creates a desire to explore "They've seen it on TV, they've seen it in magazines, because it's sacred and mystical" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), which is a subjective view as there could be alternative reasons to be visiting, aside from being

sacred. People appear to be inspired by the challenge, which is accentuated by this media presence "The media has a huge impact definitely, and I also think people want to visit it because it's a tough place to get to" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), implying that many people participate in the Inca Trail to prove a point to others, and not to enjoy the scenery or experience any sacred energy. Urry (2007) argues that it is the physical exertion and the overcoming of pain that allows the tourist to fully appreciate the experience.

By completing the tough, challenging journey of the Inca Trail, the arrival at the site is seen as a reward "It's (Machu Picchu) definitely a reward, and I would hold really steadfast to that" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), which could lose some meaning to the site with regards to its spiritual meaning. It is the desired prize, the ultimate goal "The reward that I was getting from doing the Inca Trail, to arrive at Machu Picchu, that was my reward...to go somewhere as sacred as Machu Picchu" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), the Inca Trail is an important component because it adds to the whole experience, it is tough but rewarding, and Machu Picchu is the prize. Here the respondent does not specify that it was solely Machu Picchu that they wished to visit through the use of the words "somewhere like", which implies that it was merely a good enough option to travel to in order to fulfil their personal desires. The implications here are that of an apparent lack of meaning towards the site itself, with the goal being merely to reach it rather than the actual experience of being present there.

## **Summary**

Through tourism, the pride and passion of the local people regarding their heritage has increased as it has improved their quality of life and overall happiness. Their unique history and its importance has

been outlined, which has, in turn, allowed the local people to feel empowered regarding the desire to share their ancestry with the rest of the world.

## **5.3 Perceptions of Environmental Impacts**

### **Sustainability, development, infrastructure and accessibility**

In addition to the social benefits tourism can offer, it also provides important environmental support. The industry will always provide a need for development due to the increase in persons at a specified sight, however, the main concern here is that the development in question is of a sustainable nature, and only improves an environment through better infrastructure and accessibility, rather than damaging it.

It has been perceived that the city of Cusco has a need to expand sustainably "I noticed that the city (Cusco) wants to prosper tourism" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). According to some tourists, judging by its general appearance and current state, tourism seems to have been the reason for its positive growth and increasing wealth "I don't know what it (Cusco) was like before...but seeing the way that I think it has changed, then it probably has changed it slightly for the better, I can't imagine it would have been that amazing" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). It should be highlighted here that this is a subjective statement, as the respondent possesses a belief that that tourism has improved the city. It appears to be a common observation that Cusco relies on tourism for its sustainable development as this is how the city can afford to improve its current infrastructure "Cusco needs the tourism, and the same thing now with Machu Picchu, they started building the roads, so there were better roads to get to Machu Picchu" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), an example of

how tourism and development can be mutually beneficial. It could also be argued that the reason the city has to improve its infrastructure is due to the increase in tourist numbers.

In spite of this, it is down to personal opinion to decide how much development is positive development "Cusco was a lot more cosmopolitan than I thought it would be, I thought it was going to be this little quaint village and some of that is there, but it's really a tourist Mecca, so that was a surprise, but not necessarily a bad surprise" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), demonstrating expectations versus findings, where tourism has perhaps developed further than initially thought, although this development is not necessarily negative. Nevertheless, the authorities appear to have adapted to the effects of tourism to suit Cusco "It's natural, not very high hotels, it's historic, very well" French tourist and first time visitor (2015). The key perception here is that the development fits in with the culture and has not transformed Cusco into a generic tourist city, however one must highlight the contradicting terminology here through the use of "natural" and "hotels".

Additionally, many tourists believe that there is a need for better infrastructure "If they had a highway they would be more efficient" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which would help the city develop more sustainably and aid a developing transport system. Some visitors, however, argue that the region already boasts a decent railway development "You've got railway development...all this living has been sustained...overall it has improved the lives of the locals in my opinion" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), despite the respondent not explaining how they believe the railway has improved the lives of the locals.

It appears to be a common opinion held by many that this development is seen as positive, industrial and sustainable, which now has become necessary to sustain the amount of tourists, providing easier access and a better lifestyle for all "Transport has improved" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), showing how the infrastructure has improved and how it has helped the area develop by bringing the local people into the modern world. On the other hand, there appears to be a distinct lack of concern regarding how the development of infrastructure and transport links is affecting the environment.

At the site of Machu Picchu, development and infrastructure is very minimal, due to restrictions such as management policies in place to protect it. All the same, there has been a need to develop transport links up to the sanctuary so as to allow large numbers of tourists to visit, such as a bus route and a train line from the base of the mountain to nearby towns. This is seen as beneficial "You can allow more people to experience it, you're altering the experience" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), by making the site available to all through improved accessibility. Here, the respondent does not suggest that with increased access increases the strain upon the environment, which perhaps suggests a naïve perspective.

Without a doubt, there is a need to continue the expansion of the site and the transport links to accommodate the visitor numbers and echo the high demand "They're still trying to find new routes...it's still expanding the whole time, like when people think of Peru they do think of Machu Picchu, like it is a touristy symbol, it pretty much is the symbol that's out there" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This portrays how the site is iconic and how it evokes national pride; attributes which only contribute further to rising demand and pressure on transport infrastructure.

Without the development of the transport links, only the more able-bodied would be able to experience it "Machu Picchu was beautiful, and the only irony is that I'm able to be here because of tourism, I mean if there wasn't the bus and the train and all that, I don't know if I would personally be able to do a real jungle trek and make it to Machu Picchu and physically be present there" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). It increases the spectrum of people that can experience it, alongside technology and development widening the market and further making it more accessible, which in itself does voice concerns that the authorities have uncovered a viable need for expansion, which could be detrimental to the environment.

Compared to other heritage sites, Machu Picchu is coping reasonably well regarding crowd control "It felt sustainable, it wasn't overcrowded like say the Mayan ruins, and there was no commerce on top of MP at all, which was great" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), also demonstrating how the commercial aspect of tourism has not yet affected the actual site. In spite of this, there exists upon the site places to purchase food and drink, which contradicts the statement made regarding a lack of commerce. It appears that the site is being relatively well looked after "I think it's good and all the services are new and are made especially to make comfort to all the tourists" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), however emphasis must be made on only the tourists and no mention of the locals, which appears to be prioritising. There is certainly a need for this sustainable tourism to be encouraged further "I think the only way to see Machu Picchu is to do it the sustainable way and not the way of coming in on busses" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), implying how other less environmentally friendly options shouldn't be available for the site, and also demonstrating the need to promote green tourism and ecotourism further.

One way of encouraging the growth of sustainable tourism, is through community-based tourism (CBT) which is currently being promoted throughout Peru via a nationwide program, the (Programa Nacional de Turismo Rural Comunitario). This was created with the aim of empowering rural communities and to promote sustainable development. The communities in question are situated between Cusco and Machu Picchu, and have become the centre of tourism-based poverty alleviation efforts, with many institutions and sectors working alongside communities to "encourage increased local involvement in tourism enterprise and entrepreneurship" (Knight and Cottrell, 2016: 33), demonstrating the importance of sustainable tourism to these regions and communities.

It is without a doubt that tourism can drastically change and develop an area, which has proven critical in order to accommodate tourism. It can create such an impact upon one place, for example the town of Ollantaytambo, that it can become subject to a tourist 'boom' and a seemingly overnight expansion "Grown from what probably would have been a very small local town (Ollantaytambo) with not much going on and because of the Inca Trail, it's become this massive tourist town, a town geared massively around tourists" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), which does raise concern regarding the velocity of the expansion and if sustainability has been factored in.

In some cases, an area has developed in such a way that it reflects the reason for its development "It's all the shop fronts and that, which I don't like but that's me...there is the money to regenerate buildings that will have been rundown otherwise" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), this displays how the town in question has evolved and matured into a destination, brimming in amenities that it was otherwise lacking in. Interestingly here, the respondent does not appear to agree with the



amenities provided for the tourists, which could contradict the need for them if the target audiences does not desire the product or service. Overall, site development is fundamental here to enable access for many "It's great that it's been exposed to the world and that people have an opportunity to see it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), portraying the importance for visitors to have the opportunity and the accessibility to witness the spectacle of Machu Picchu and the region, and to see it first-hand. Here, the respondent uses the word "exposed", which could imply previous protection, whereas now due to tourism, the exposure encompasses a lack of security.

### **Regeneration, conservation, preservation, awareness and protection**

Tourism can cause a considerable amount of people to visit a site at any one time, thus creating lots of negative environmental impacts if the carrying capacity of the site in question is exceeded. Carrying capacity can be either natural or human "natural carrying capacity is an ecosystem's capacity to sustain a certain number of living organisms while maintaining their productivity, adaptability and renewability...human carrying capacity is the maximum resource consumption that may be continued indefinitely without any disturbance of ecosystem performance integrity and processing capability" (Rahmani et al., 2015: 810).

In order to stay within the carrying capacity, counteract negative effects and further protect the area from more damage, steps have to be taken. These include reducing these impacts, preserving the site and utilising tourism revenue to regenerate the area in order that it doesn't lose its appeal to other tourists. Many people are involved in managing the site of Machu Picchu and protecting it, which is a rewarding and personal project for them "There's a lot of people working to contain it, to keep it original, and I don't think that the effects really are too bad for the ruins, because they're really careful

with what they do, of course it affects it a little bit when they have thousands of people a week, but then they make quite good money out of it I think" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015). They are aware of every small detail; the money earned in revenue is a huge benefit and helps counteract the negative effects. In spite of this, it is clear here that the negative effects are real and are noticed by the tourists, and yet appear to become insignificant due to the revenue received.

Many residents and tourists alike, believe that this strong management is aiding the upkeep of the sanctuary "Machu Picchu is clean, there is a lot of security" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), displaying how well-kept it is "Not dirty" French tourist and first time visitor (2015), despite a lack of clarification here as to who is responsible for its kept state.

It is clear that the protection and maintenance of the monument not only benefits the environment and protects it from becoming overgrown, but also provides a pleasant appearance for the tourists "The grass is really well maintained, in terms of the historical side of things, yeah that's definitely helped it, otherwise it would be a complete natural side of it" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). One could argue that it is not keeping it in its natural state which would lose authenticity. Tourists seem to believe that the authorities involved in managing the site have realised its fragility and are showing awareness by making changes to management strategies and are gradually improving the situation of protecting its environment "What's good about the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, they've quite understood that something has to be done, and I'm certain that we'll see something change very very soon, and I'm all for it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It should be noted here that there is a lack of clarification regarding what will change and how, causing uncertainty.

It appears that preservation also increases the attractiveness of a destination to tourists "Touristic places are better preserved" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), showing how more protection is directed at the places that are in need of it, and more importantly is directed to the places that attract the visitors and, therefore, revenue. This could be taken as an immoral motive for the site's protection, as it is primarily to attract the tourists and less so to merely protect the site as a sanctuary.

Additionally, some tourists argue that the people who are willing to work hard to get to the site via the Inca Trail, respect it more and would also understand the importance of protecting it "People that do the trail, that actually work to get there, would pay more money to protect it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), although this cannot be interpreted as fact, as it is purely an assumption. Certain types of tourism encourage people to look after the environment and be more aware "I really like this kind of backpackers ethos, because a backpacker's ethos is all about looking after the world...the type of people that care about the environment, and that's what that area embraces which I really like" British tourist and first time visitor (2016) Moreover, backpackers are usually "conscious of the impact of their activities on the environment and therefore prefer to engage in low-environmental impact and eco-friendly activities" (Nok et al., 2017: 4). Additionally, tourists perceive trekking as an activity which provides other benefits such as the environmental experience as a whole "We saw obviously a lot more than the tourists would have seen" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), despite the lack of clarification here as to the additional experience offered by trekking.

In addition to protecting Machu Picchu from environmental damage, there has been a need to either conserve the buildings or preserve them. Many disagree about the extent to which the buildings should

be renovated, if at all "They didn't want any more rebuilding, which I think is a good thing, they could probably take, like they did, two or three houses and remade the rooves" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This would keep the originality and authenticity of the site, but also utilise it as a theoretical example of how it could have looked.

For educational purposes, it can be interesting to study how it was built and how it would have looked at the time "Tourists like to see what it would have been like rather than necessarily what it is now, but I think if the contrast wasn't there, if they didn't have parts of it in ruin...it's important" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), as many tourists aspire to get a true experience of it and also feel the intrigue to study a comparison. This, however, is based on a personal opinion and cannot be taken as a representative view as an assumption has been made referring to tourists as a representative group. Here, a comparison appears to be required in order to fully appreciate it "I think it helps with people, if it was just completely rebuilt, it would lose a lot of its charm and the historical relevance and things, people like to see it" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016).

It appears that tourism is aiding dramatically in regenerating areas in need of revitalisation "I'm sure tourism has revitalised the whole area, I think it's created a new environment" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), although there is no statement to imply whether this new environment is an improved one. The industry seems to have blown life into the region and brought it into the modern world. It is aiding in regeneration and preservation "From the time that the tourists get strong, more monuments more like Machu Picchu and other places, the government try to save and rescue all these monuments for the tourists, is very good" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), despite implying that the tourists and the benefits brought from tourism are the priority, as a local resident they

are still satisfied with the outcome. In spite of this gentrification, "They're trying to balance it quite well" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), the management and fellow stakeholders appear to understand the potential negative effects and are attempting to counteract it to protect their culture.

### **Overall appearance, overcrowding and site atmosphere**

Machu Picchu itself is incredibly famous and a hugely desirable place to visit "It's one of the seven wonders, you're more tempted to go there, there's probably a lot of other places that are just as beautiful but are probably not as recognised" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), despite implying that the media and its marketing are the key reasons as to its popularity. It really is an outstanding discovery, unique and incomparable in its nature with a spectacular atmosphere and appearance "It wasn't discovered for so long, but it's been there for thousands and thousands and thousands of years, so it does have the history, and just like the views, there's nowhere else like it really" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), which raises questions of other sites of natural beauty that are still yet to be discovered.

It is perceived to be an amazing site to behold "Spectacular setting" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), that it is an area of extreme natural beauty in its own right "Even without the ruins it would be extraordinary" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), despite clarification here as to the reasoning behind this statement. It has been said by many, that being there in person and experiencing the wonder first hand is beyond comparison to merely reading about it in books or on a form of media "I think the thing about MP, hearing about it directly from the guides, being there and actually seeing the physical presence whilst something was being explained, it was wonderful" American

tourist and first time visitor (2015), however one cannot deny the role the media plays in encouraging visitors to the site.

Machu Picchu has been declared by many "A massive honeypot" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), where, according to Teobaldi and Capineri (2015), honeypot destinations are widely known, attract large numbers of visitors, and are usually small in comparison to their surroundings. Alongside being a major honeypot site, Machu Picchu is in danger of surpassing its carrying capacity, a concept which is "based on understanding the limits of acceptable change in indicators of environmental quality, (and) is widely used in urban, regional and tourism planning" (Rahmani et al., 2015: 807).

Surpassing its carrying capacity could, in time, detract enjoyment from the overall experience at Machu Picchu. Although many agree that the site itself is certainly busy, the amount of visitors present at one time did not seem to cause tourists too much concern or upset "It wasn't overcrowded but busy" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015), of course this would depend on the time of day and whether it would be in high or low tourist season, alongside people's preferences and also opinions of what constitutes as "overcrowded". Some suggest there are ways to avoid such crowds "If you go by yourself, you can get there early and beat the crowds" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and that the Inca Trail is only busy at peak times "If you're there at the right time, didn't see anyone for a couple of hours" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), despite a lack of clarity here regarding the exact time of day and year to go to receive fewer numbers.

Overall, this research suggests that the number of tourists at the site was not a major problem for the respondents questioned, and that in general there was a good balance of tourists and space "There were a lot of tourists, but I don't think there were too many, there is a restriction" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015). The amount of tourists didn't affect the ability to enjoy the experience to its full capacity, which did not seem to be hindering or altering the tourist experience too much "I took photos, I took a lot of photos, without visitors" French tourist and first time visitor (2015), although this statement refers to taking pictures, which one would have to take into account the photographic skill of the person in question. All in all, the site appears to be reasonably well-managed "It's almost like the Galapagos Islands, because you only have a certain amount of people that can go there" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), showing how it hasn't been spoilt or altered too much, despite the reference towards the Galapagos Islands creating a slight discrepancy with regards to the varying landscapes and key attractions.

The overall atmosphere at the world heritage site and the entire experience, is predominantly positive in nature "The trail was awesome, the bus up was great...up there was awesome" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), although the respondent has not detailed their reasoning behind these remarks. It has been described as an almost magical experience "Still had the Whoa factor...surreal" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), once again containing a lack of clarification as to why. The different sites and landscapes have encouraged tourism due to Peru being such a unique country with a huge range of tourist hotspots "That's the joy of Peru, it's such a diverse country, it's so completely different you know going from Lima to Cusco then Lake Titicaca and the Reed Islands, it's so different, it's a fantastic country" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). The variety of scenes, atmospheres and experiences that the region of Machu Picchu has to offer, helps gain a more thorough idea of the different lifestyles present and enables tourists to gain a true perception of the country and way of life "I

think even the rough parts are still places for tourists to see...people like going to some things outside the tourist area" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), suggesting that there could be other places of interest in the area, which are not typical attractions.

It is true that the city of Cusco's cultural and geological beauty is a key factor as to why it receives so much attention "It's a very nice city, the city (Cusco) is the prettiest in Peru" French tourist and first time visitor (2015), showing how its appearance is part of the reason why a lot of tourists visit, additionally proving the need to maintain that in order to sustain visitor numbers. The city truly is an incredible place, a key reason of its own as to why tourists visit "I was so impacted by Cusco I think it's one of the most beautiful cities I've ever seen, it's just fantastic I loved everything about it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). Alongside the beauty of Cusco, the tourist town of Aguas Calientes also presents itself as a positive attraction "Aguas Calientes was really cute, interesting, very animated" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), conveying how tourism has made it more appealing, interesting and how it has developed it further; expanding at such a dramatic pace that it has consequently seen a huge influx in wealth brought in from the tourism revenue.

## **Summary**

Tourism has enabled the creation of better and more sustainable transport links and infrastructure, alongside the promotion of sustainability. This has, in turn, improved accessibility. It has helped regenerate the area through increased awareness for protecting the environment for the future, alongside the need to maintain environmental standards to ensure high levels of visitor satisfaction.



## 5.4 Perceptions of Economic Impacts

### Employment opportunities

In addition to the positive impacts that tourism can bring to society and to the environment, it can also benefit the economy. One of those benefits, is through the creation of employment opportunities, which can be found in many forms such as restaurants, hotels, or even through conducting guided tours of the area's key features and landscapes. Tourism is seen to have a strong multiplier effect, which, according to Harcombe (2015), is the “cascading effect of tourists’ money being spent throughout the host economy...the effect of this spending then permeates throughout the economy creating impacts” (Harcombe, 2015: 12). Tourism stimulates the rest of the Peruvian economy including construction, transport, food sales and handicrafts, and with “more than 60 percent employed in service jobs” (Robertson et al., 2016: 91), the industry is regarded as playing an important role in employment creation in Peru.

It is understood by some that tourism has brought opportunities for locals that they might not otherwise have had "Definitely brings in employment opportunities, there are so many restaurants and so many opportunities for guides...I know are low paid but as a local job that's a really good job out there...all the guides they have to be from that area, they're only trained in certain areas so that they're only allowed to guide around the area you're trained in" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This has allowed them to have a better lifestyle "A good thing for the local people as they are employed and very passionate about the area" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015), despite raising concerns regarding the apparent low wages that are paid, which in comparison to the amount of money generated from tourism, could be seen as quite odd. There is no clarification as to why these tour guides

are paid so badly. There are still some restrictions regarding areas of work, however, which enables the quality of the tours to remain at a high standard.

It is a common perception that the local people have a need to work and earn money in order to maintain a normal lifestyle "People also have their everyday lives" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Tourism appears to have already brought positive effects to the area including direct economic benefits for the residents in question "It's clearly brought a lot of money to the area, there's a lot of jobs based around tourism, whether it be tour guides, people who own the shops, or down to the people on the streets selling their wares, if there wasn't tourists there, they would not be making money" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). On the other hand, the respondent here highlights a key overdependence warning, suggesting that without tourism to the area, the local people would struggle financially.

Stakeholders and tourist management teams appear to have realised that tourism is positive for creating employment opportunities and are harnessing onto that knowledge "They're really hot on the jobs that tourism is bringing, so it's good, it's boosting the economy" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). Some native tourists state that this has been triggered by high demand "There are restaurants in Aguas Calientes and restaurants in those are full" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), displaying a further need to cater towards these tourists. It must be outlined here that the tourist only states restaurants in Aguas Calientes as full; there was no further information given as to the demand in restaurants in other towns and areas.

Furthermore, the increase in tourist numbers brings with it a need to provide suitable accommodation, thus creating additional job opportunities "There is a lot of visitors, or you need more hotels then you have to invest in a new hotel or five star hotel" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). Here, the respondent has highlighted that there is a need for further development; whether this development is perceived as beneficial or not remains subjective. Tourists are then encouraged to "spend more, and a number of restaurants, hotels and travel agencies cater almost exclusively to a foreign clientele" (Van Den Berghe and Ochoa, 2000: 17).

These employment opportunities have aided in the continual growth of the region, regarding both the economy and the infrastructure, but have also enabled the local people themselves to grow on a personal level, by developing skills, qualifications and a greater sense of worth "I think it's a university-type thing, I think it's their qualifications, at college" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), displaying how education plays an important role in this progression. It could be argued here that there is a social expectation and pressure placed upon college qualifications, and without them the local people cannot not excel and be as successful as they may have been otherwise. Cusco's main export is its people, who unfortunately, are generally "poor, displaced, and landless peasants (who) emigrate to the coast in search of better conditions, generally entering an underemployed and marginal urban proletariat" (Van Den Berghe and Ochoa, 2000), demonstrating further the importance of these job roles in tourism and how this industry also provides financial and social security for the workers.

As well as aiding financially, tourism has increased revenue in small towns that could have otherwise suffered economically, thus encouraging a growing and skilled population, with better-educated residents "Obviously it's been very beneficial to the local population and brought people in from other

towns as well, because of the tourism" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), this of course is providing the money is being sent back to the families in these towns. If this is not the case, then this will result in significant 'brain drain' within these smaller towns, who will presumably suffer financially and socially as these skilled workers and educated individuals leave.

Tourism has enabled small and otherwise relatively unknown towns to grow and develop "The town at the bottom of Machu Picchu is definitely booming. Bars, restaurants and hotels flood the area again good for the local people and the area...everything was clean and tidy. There's a large market area for local people to sell souvenirs" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015). This has not only boosted their overall economy but has helped the locals themselves become more financially stable, with some even owning their own businesses. Due to the amount of amenities listed here with the primary focus for the tourists, this suggests very little has been created for the purpose and benefit of the local community, aside from the opportunity to generate tourism revenue; a key sign of overdependence.

### **Tourism revenue**

Tourism is now without doubt the "largest industry in the world. In 2006, about 800 million international tourists expended some US\$735 billion dollars" (Yang, 2010: 827) with the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) predicting that by 2020 "international tourist arrivals worldwide will...reach 1.6 billion persons and tourism receipts will exceed US\$2 trillion" (Yang, 2010: 827). The industry provides incredible financial benefits to areas whose economies might have otherwise struggled, showing how tourism is positive for the economy. The arrival of tourists to a destination brings with it tourist expenditure, which in turn increases the revenue received "When there's more tourists, it's better for us we have more money" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), which causes the

local people to perceive tourism as a positive industry, where the financial benefits are understood and utilised "There are a lot of people going, a lot of money" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). These two local business owners view tourism as beneficial, as their businesses are succeeding as a result of this. There could be a chance that they have not yet experienced or understand the repercussions of becoming too dependent on the industry.

The tourist industry in Peru is undeniably thriving, despite foreign tourists recognising the vast need for the site with regards to economic gain, in comparison to other destinations "There's clearly a lot more money brought from it than elsewhere" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This could be due to its fascinating culture and Inca heritage; attributes found amongst the many towns in the region which seem to be economically booming thanks to the industry "I think that MP and Cusco as well, are big, are doing well for tourism, we think it's very good for us" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), by bringing in a huge amount of wealth. Here, the Peruvian tourists clearly states that as a population, Peruvians see tourism as widely beneficial, despite it only being for economic reasons one could argue.

This tourism revenue has become incredibly important in these towns as much of it is used in the upkeep of the historical and tourist sites "All the tourism that has come to Machu Picchu has brought in revenue so that they could keep up the place" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), portraying how this revenue helps with the maintenance, in spite of suggesting that the area would not be of a good standard had tourism revenue not aided it. The revenue enables positive development "I'd imagine that it's helping with the development of the buildings yeah, with the money that tourists are spending, it's going back into the city" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), where the money is recycled back

into society through the multiplier effect, which is “how many times money spent by a tourist circulates through a country's economy” (Rusu, 2011: 70), causing little or no economic leakage and providing the city of Cusco with an impressive financial injection.

These benefits have already been realised "I see improvements at the site from just two years ago, and those improvements are done with money that eventually they're going to have to maintain" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which displays how the management are using the revenue to improve the site of Machu Picchu, to secure more tourism, and maintain the sanctuary as a source of vital income. The respondent appears to suggest here that tourism is not a ‘quick fix’, and that this income will need to be continuous to prevent the area declining and the buildings and developments degrading.

Tourism contributes hugely to upkeep of Machu Picchu "I think tourism has changed it for the better because the tourists pay so the people can keep the place clean, wash the stones" French tourist and first time visitor (2015), by paying for the maintenance and the continuous care of the site. Again, this implies that before this influx of tourism, the area was of a poor standard, which one could argue could be reverted in the future if tourist numbers should fall. Some argue that the increase in visitor numbers to the heritage site is to increase profits "The reason that they do it (high visitor numbers) because they need the money for the upkeep" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), which would then be used for maintenance purposes, despite implying here that the increase in tourism is the primary reason for the need to sustain the site.

Although the region is still aesthetically suffering from poverty, the money received through tourism is being used to regenerate the area "There's money going in, you can see lots of things do change, shops and stuff, they're not as run down as other areas or the country, or South America in general, so there's money there, there are other countries like Colombia which wasn't as massively touristy" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This suggests that compared to other countries in the continent, Peru's economy is doing relatively well thanks to this revenue.

As well as at the site of Machu Picchu, this tourism revenue is also utilised in the nearby locations, such as the city of Cusco "Tourists in Cusco, the tourist economy is very important, I think Cusco is more for money from tourists, more than other places in Peru, but all Peru as well, tourists are very important for economy" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), portraying its economic benefits, whilst outlining the vast dependence the city has placed upon tourism. These financial benefits are used for maintaining the key tourist sites and points of interest "I think tourism has changed the area for the better... Cusco receives the money that comes to Peru for the tourism, in Cusco, is used for maintaining all museums, all the public places for the whole Peru, it's a lot of money that comes from the tourists, so the ministry receives all the money and then distributes" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), which also highlights how the money is dispersed around the country and not merely localised. One could argue that it is not only the city of Cusco and Machu Picchu that has become dependent on tourism, if the revenue generated is now being dispersed throughout the country.

Other smaller towns such as Aguas Calientes also share the flow and revenue "Some tourists prefer sleeping in Aguas Calientes town, it's nearer to Machu Picchu" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), demonstrating a good balance, whilst also using local resources that

are locally produced "The wider community benefit from Machu Picchu, the multiplier effect. On the trail communities along the sacred valley take turns to provide porters so that each community gets some money. Some hotels such as Inkaterra in Aguas Calientes use local products such as the huge varieties of potatoes and quinoa so local farmers benefit" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), thus additionally installing more civic pride into the community alongside helping locals earn money.

This, in turn, lessens their financial strain "I think the tourism industry is maybe to add for them more of the conveniences of modern life and to be able to afford those and maybe upgrade their home" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and allows them to live more comfortably by having the ability to afford amenities that they otherwise would not be able to. Here, the respondent outlines the reliance placed upon tourism by local communities who desire to have a more westernised lifestyle. This could become a future concern regarding the inability to return to past ways of life, should the tourism industry in the area suffer.

This research suggests that the money generated is being retained in the region and is used to further benefit those involved, outlining how the revenue is being recycled "I don't think the money is going elsewhere, it doesn't give that appearance" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). Through community participation, giving "communities the responsibility to manage their resources and an opportunity to economically benefit from resources in their localities" (Mbaiwa, 2008: 98). Many tourists enjoy purchasing gifts and experiences from the residents "It's always nice to put things back into the community by purchasing things that are beautifully made" British tourist and first time visitor (2016),



understanding the importance of giving back what one can in the way of contributing financially and appreciating the skills and traditions.

### **Dependency**

Tourists appear to give the impression that the industry of tourism provides the Peruvian people with a chance to afford necessities and the opportunity to live a normal life with reasonable prospects "It makes the difference between poverty and absolute poverty" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015). However, many are concerned that this has created too much dependency on the tourist industry for the local people "Peru needs tourism, and Cusco, think about Aguas Calientes if they didn't have Machu Picchu it would disappear, I think they would have nothing, so you need the money, and then you need to let people know about your country, and the only way is like people go and travelling" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), showing how some places rely too much on tourism. It could be argued that this respondent's view is a little extreme, as aspects such as management, marketing and media have not been factored in or considered.

According to Wu et al. (2017), many scholars "hold to the view ticketing may have adverse impacts by generating an over-dependence by sites on the ticket revenue rather than developing better services and product" (Wu et al., 2017: 271). The extent of this dependency can be portrayed through the amount of people employed in the sector "People who are living off the tourists have gotta be at least 40-50% of the population" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and despite it boosting the economy, concerns amongst some tourists are still present regarding the ability to cope if the industry was in some way removed "I don't think they would manage without tourists" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015).

Evidently, these perceptions and estimations of dependency figures are alarming, should the industry cease to exist. Many believe that the growth of tourism in the region has led to it becoming a mandatory industry to allow the continuation of the current lifestyle of the local people "Economically it is vital to the local area, the south of Peru and at the national level" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015). This displays how tourists perceive the country of Peru as dependent on the tourism, and not just the city of Cusco and the region, which can create huge amounts of pressure upon the local communities and upon the Peruvian government.

It appears that the majority of the area surrounding Machu Picchu is now focused purely on tourism "It's very very geared towards tourists, like there's loads of offices to book very touristy stuff, that would be the impact that it's very catered towards it" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), which outlines concerns that the removal of it could be detrimental to the society. Additionally, tourism is one of the few legal industries in this area of Peru, making it an important means of income for the country "Aside from the cocaine trade, Machu Picchu is vital for the regional economy" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), causing it to be an almost essential factor in the growth of the economy. The respondent here has used an extreme example of drug trafficking, one could argue, as there are various other means in which Peru maintains a stable income, such as through the farming and exporting of foods such as potatoes, quinoa and avocados. In this case, the use of "vital" could be deemed as irrelevant.

In spite of these dependency concerns, many disagree and believe that the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding area would sustain, if in the event of a collapse in the tourist industry "Peru is one of the

poorest countries in the world, but nobody goes hungry...some poor countries also have hunger but this country doesn't because everybody has land, even a poor person can plant potatoes and raise cattle...they're self-sustaining" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), where the importance of maintaining a primary means of income through farming is highlighted. In spite of this, it cannot be suggested that the economic stability of Peru will remain unaltered should the tourism industry collapse.

The discovery and utilisation of Machu Picchu has certainly prevented the population from dangerous levels of poverty "If it were not for Machu Picchu, the whole of southern Peru would be mired in absolute poverty...Cusco and the Sacred valley have been the major beneficiaries but it has created a tourist trail so that the coastal area with the Nasca lines and the Amazon eco-lodges based around Puerto Maldonado have also benefitted" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015).

Contrarily, there is faith present regarding the longevity of the city of Cusco and of Machu Picchu "There will be jobs and income there...I'm sure if something happened, or if Machu Picchu disappeared for whatever reason, Cusco would still survive" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). Here, the respondent has not expanded and explained why they believe Cusco would survive, as previous discussion suggests that due to the city's overdependence on tourism, it could be catastrophic. Even so, it can be suggested that in the event of the tourism sector collapsing, the area would still be able to survive above dangerous levels of poverty. Nevertheless, the same cannot be said for the smaller towns who depend hugely on tourism to maintain a reasonable quality of life "If you removed everything there (Ollantaytambo), it would just be the old Inca stuff, which would be pretty awesome in my opinion" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), towns and villages which would not

necessarily have the tourist amenities and locals who consequently would not be able to afford luxury items.

This dependency does come at a cost; a risk of losing everything that the local people have worked towards and developed for the purpose of tourism. According to Becken et al. (2014), high dependence on tourism poses many threats “reduction in tourist arrivals and reduced economic contribution, increased unemployment and decreased regional development” (Becken et al., 2014: 34). On the other hand, tourism provides stakeholders with the incentive to protect the heritage “If there wasn't tourism, they definitely wouldn't be spending a lot of money rebuilding all of that” British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). In spite of this suggestion that the main motive here is for financial gain, protecting the heritage is seen by many to be a benefit brought from the industry.

### **Increase in business growth**

Tourism can provide locals who are self-employed with the ability to increase the growth of their business “It's a necessity it's important, as if for everyone, for example, buy handicrafts, check in another shop, buying all the things...that is better for us, if we don't have tourists...nobody buying this” Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), so much so that it has now become an integral part of their lifestyle. On the other hand, the respondent appears to suggest that there is some frustration within the local businesses when tourists do not purchase their products, which could subsequently create animosity. Even so, small, family-run businesses are able to expand, that might have otherwise struggled.

One reason for this business growth is through the development of technology as “developments in the global economy have changed the traditional balance between customer and supplier... computing technology (means) that customers have more choices...technology has evolved to allow the lower cost provision of information and customer solutions” (Teece, 2010: 172). This business growth can also be due to the increase of internet usage "We have behind the internet, we have more tourists because we sell in Cusco the tours" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). The number of tourists have increased due to the internet and technology, which allows these businesses to expand their methods of advertising, showing how media is playing an important role here.

Putting aside the development in online booking and marketing, selling the tourist experiences in person are still occurring, and are simply viewed as an alternative method of booking "A little bit tourism it's better when the tourists come here and see many options to take the tours" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). This could, however, contradict the respondent's previous statement and creates confusion as to whether the tour company relies more on the internet or personal visits for tourist purchases.

The tourist trade certainly brings in a lot of money "It starts first with commercial items...the first thing that is market, you can buy and you can sell things" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), displaying the financial benefits which then create positive economic impacts. It could be argued that selling items from a market store is not going to boost the economy to extremes, however. Research could suggest that the local people have become much more business-minded "People are already buying up land, people who are thinking of the profits" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), conveying a greater financial agenda than before in the earlier stages of their tourist industry. The respondent does not

disclose which people are buying the land, however, as there could be the possibility of external investors or financial giants developing on the land, and not necessarily the local people.

There are varying opinions regarding tourism to these areas, which outline the different needs of the residents and stakeholder perspectives "I like Cusco, so for me the fact that it is touristic is a good thing, a lot of people think it's bad, but when you own a bar you think it's a good thing" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), which demonstrate how stakeholders' values differ to suit their particular needs, therefore viewing the industry in different lights. It has become apparent that tourism is most definitely needed for economic progression in these communities "The one that completes all this is tourism. The only way is to let people know" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015); a continual theme displaying how this industry is currently the most favoured and affective means of boosting their economy. In spite of this, the respondent fails to suggest how people can be informed, which one would have to presume be some form of marketing, which, in itself, will require a large sum of money, most probably from a portion of the revenue generated through previous tourism.

## **Summary**

Tourism has created many employment opportunities for the local people, in sectors such as hospitality and transport. This has not only increased tourism revenue but has allowed locally-owned businesses to flourish. The region is extremely reliant on tourism, and it has allowed the residents to maintain a decent standard of living.

## 5.5 Overall Positive Perceptions

Tourism has brought great awareness and respect for the towns and villages surrounding Machu Picchu "When it would be less touristic, then maybe no one would have heard of it and no one would go there so there's that side, but I think it improves the area for the people" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015). Contrary to this, the respondent here appears to lack understanding regarding the wide acknowledgment of Machu Picchu's history through research and academic trips undertaken to the site, which will still be present without the existence of tourism. Machu Picchu has instated global and local pride, and has displayed how the site is loved and treasured by many.

Certainly, from a local perspective, it has brought many benefits such as employment, renovation, regeneration, and a place on the world stage. The site of Machu Picchu itself is incredibly high in demand "You don't have to sell it that hard...almost everybody knows about it, out of everywhere in the world, Machu Picchu is just one of the places where people just know it from the name, there's lots of places people don't know until you show them a photo, Machu Picchu pretty much everybody does" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This displays its popularity through a combination of media, literature, word of mouth and its unique appeal. Despite this, there is an interesting contrast regarding the heritage site's seasonal tourist flow "Different when it's a little tourists or a lot of tourists, when it's a little tourists it's better maybe because you see Machu Picchu at this lonely time...it's better on the lower season not higher season" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). Less tourism means less revenue but a more enjoyable experience; alongside better views, a calmer atmosphere, higher visitor satisfaction and a pleasanter experience, which all in all can sometimes be viewed as more important than the revenue itself.

The discovery of Machu Picchu was paramount to the success and improvement of the lifestyle of the Peruvian people "Had Machu Picchu not been discovered then this town for sure would not be as booming as it is. Also the indirect jobs that come from that would not be in place" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015), implying that without it then they would be incredibly poor and struggling financially, even more so than before. It could be argued here that the marketing and promotion of Machu Picchu is the cause of the large tourist interest, and that the discovery was merely the catalyst. In spite of this, it has most certainly been perceived that tourism to the region has increased civic pride and personal sense of self-worth, enabling local communities to regain passion and love for their heritage.



## 6. The key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

### 6.1 Introduction

The reactions to tourism development are often separated into three categories. Firstly, there are sociocultural impacts regarding culture, traditional crafts and dress, understanding and crime rates. Secondly, environmental impacts such as protection of green space, crowding, air, water and noise pollution, wildlife destruction, vandalism and litter. Lastly, economic impacts are present, with reference to employment, tourism revenue, tax and inflation. Stakeholders including “policy-makers and tourism planners can obtain useful information from the analysis of residents’ concerns and attitudes regarding tourism development and its impacts” (Vareiro et al., 2013: 536). These impacts can occur because tourism combines a multitude of people from diverse social and cultural backgrounds, which combined with spending power, has a significant impact upon the economy of a destination. Tourism, by nature, is attracted to unique and fragile environments and societies, and research has suggested that in some cases, the economic benefits of tourism may be offset by adverse environmental and social consequences (Archer et al., 2005).

The key topics in the following section cover the sociocultural impacts, including the loss of culture, traditions and personality; staged authenticity, embellishment and exaggerations and the lack of understanding, appreciation and respect. The next section comprises of the environmental impacts, such as sustainability, development and infrastructure; environmental degradation and subsequent restrictions and rules; overcrowding and congestion and the atmosphere and experience at Machu Picchu. Additionally, the latter section of the economic impacts includes overdependence and potential unemployment; maintenance costs and inflation: increased living costs and taxes and the financial motives and personal agendas.

## **6.2 Perceptions of Sociocultural Impacts**

It is important that “destination planners understand residents' perceptions of tourism impacts...they are the ones who are exposed to the many effects of tourism development” (Sinclair-Maragh, 2015: 36). Concerns are present that tourism can have negative impacts upon quality of life; impacts which can be found in the form of overcrowding, congestion, increased crime rates and inflation. Tourism development can also have an effect on the sociocultural characteristics of local people, such as through their lifestyle, beliefs and values; factors which could, in turn, lead to tension in society. In order to positively influence perception of tourism impacts “tourism development plans should aim to (improve) the residents' image of their place...achieved by identifying and addressing the negative attributes of the place's image and leveraging the positive attributes” (Stylidis et al., 2014: 270). If tourism development is combined with poor community collaboration, planning and management, there is a danger of losing resident identity and local culture.

### **Loss of culture, traditions and personality**

Tourism is developing at a rapid pace, causing local people to feel as if they are losing their identity "You feel like a stranger in your own country" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015). Here, the respondent is Argentinian, which one would have to make the assumption that South American countries share similar experiences with regards to tourism, which is seemingly creating a rift amongst various population groups and generations. The importance of local identity has been highlighted here by some native tourists "You have to respect the identity of the country, the local people" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), showing the values of mutual respect and living harmoniously. It could be argued here that these Peruvian tourists may have experienced foreign tourists showing disrespect.

At the heritage site of Machu Picchu and throughout the region surrounding it, tourism is inadvertently changing the area and the culture in the way that the locals are developing to adapt to western culture and traditions "They are losing their language, Quechua, and their identity, the language because you can't write it, it's only spoken there is no other representation like sounds...if you don't talk it, you lose it...they told us that they are losing it" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015). The local people discussed here appear to be disregarding some of their ways such as their ancient Inca language to appear more desirable and further developed as a society. It would be unwise to suggest that tourism is the primary reason for the loss of the Quechua language, as there is no known evidence to support this, and one would expect the natural development or loss of language through time as a given, as history would suggest with other languages.

Many are concerned that the city of Cusco has developed in such a way that it has morphed into a generic tourist city and has changed drastically "I find that in Cusco, they are losing their personality, their identity" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), despite the remaining history and heritage "If you look at the culture of the town, it's nothing like the original Cusco" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). It must be noted here that changes to Cusco's culture and the local identity is purely subjective, and this view could alter with other's perspectives. It cannot be declared with certainty that tourism is the cause for the lack of culture, and could be the cause of societal evolution instead.

One can find the influence of western culture and high crime rates in the city "You'll see lots of western stuff, people selling western things and also a lot of crime increases in Cusco" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), crime which could relate to the desire of greater goods, hence the targeting of rich tourists. The rise in crime rates could also be a reflection of the greater number of persons present, which the respondent has failed to highlight. The city has developed in such a way, that local guides are also concerned "The guide, he said that it's getting much more accidental like American culture" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), displaying how the city is being perceived as becoming westernised and losing its soul. Again, one cannot make the assumption here that tourism is the cause of westernisation, as the media also plays a large role in advertising western culture through music, the internet, fashion and television, to give some examples.

In addition to Cusco, the same can be seen to be happening in other smaller towns in the region "Lots of very very westernised shops in Ollantaytambo" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This is being highly influenced and affected by western culture through the demonstration effect where "local communities can mix with people from diverse backgrounds with different lifestyles which...may

lead to the development of improved lifestyles and practices from the tourists' examples" (Zaei, 2013: 15). Here, one can study how foreign ways are trying to be implemented "We think that it is these foreign people come and decide to stay in Machu Picchu, or Cusco or Ollubamaba, to try to do what their own culture" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). It can be argued here that this effect is present in most places around the world now, and that it is not unique to this region in Peru.

Many are apprehensive regarding the tourist development in these places, and fear that tourism is destroying the very thing visitors come to see, until all places look the same "A contradiction in the world, the people is trying to look for culture, but the society is trying to kill the culture...trying to kill the traditions in the world...we are a city like 500 years, it's attacked" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). This appears to be a generalised statement, implying all tourists and society are responsible for destroying culture. The respondent fails to acknowledge here that it can also be argued that the retention of the culture is also within the responsibility of the local people, the government and the various stakeholders involved. Culture possesses the key into making an area unique; perceivably, it is what attracts most tourists and therefore the importance of protecting it is highlighted here "It is very valued the local culture and we find that it is changing, it has changed a lot" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). It should be noted here that there is no implication as to the cause of this apparent change, and presumptions cannot be made that this change falls under the hands of tourism.

The industry has injected foreign influences, which are unnatural to the area. The negative effects of globalisation can include the "loss of authenticity, particularly in association with cultural tourism and managing a heritage destination...authenticity is identified as a modern marketing tool attractive to certain niche markets and applicable to specific tourist destinations" (Yu et al., 2014: 115). "The way of

life, they used to do things and don't now, because of the tourism, they are doing other things, and they don't belong to the area" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015), suggests that tourism can unintentionally cause cultural aspects to lose authenticity. On the other hand, tourism may not be the sole contributor to this evolution in society, which could have been caused through other aspects such as media or through natural societal growth.

Visitors can impart different traditions and culture onto a society "Young people like hippies, or young people they do what they want...foreign people singing and playing drums and guitar, music that is not from here, so we found that it was a disorder...they had asked these people to go away, and they wouldn't go" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). This not only displays a lack of authority and disrupts local peace, but ruins an atmosphere, places tourists in a bad light by showing a lack of respect for local people and their culture and portrays a negative unauthentic image. It could also be argued, that like many places around the world, people are free to express themselves and do not necessarily have the obligation to only reflect the cultural in which they are currently present.

Alongside these negative traits, increased tourism has also in turn increased crime rates "Peru, when I was there, was the statistically most unsafe country in South America...tourists being mugged and taken to cash machines" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). Unless these statistics are thoroughly analysed and explained, it cannot be stated with certainty that the reason for these high crime rates are due to tourism, and could simply be a cause of more cases of crimes being reported compared to other South American countries, or even due to a higher number of people present.

Additionally, research suggests the means in which tourism can infiltrate through a society, by injecting westernised ways into it until traditions become a part of their past "I think traditions have been lost to be honest. Undoubtedly, that amount of tourism does dilute a culture, they're embracing more western and European-style traditions" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). It should also be noted here that this is a common global trait amongst many tourist destinations, and could be seen as a natural growth of society caused by time and human development.

### **Staged authenticity, embellishment and exaggerations**

Staged authenticity is interpreted by tourists "through their own experiences...an image that is positioned as more truthful and realistic than the artifice of the hotel, beach or other tourist sites... 'staging' can mask subjective images of a place and its people, and communicate them as objective 'reality'" (Dyson, 2012: 257). It is a key problem which many tourist sites are facing, as some may see it as deceiving people or manipulating a custom for personal gain "Typical dresses only for decoration" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), which can cause said custom to lose its value and true meaning. One must highlight here that it could be difficult to ascertain which person is genuine and which is dressing in traditional clothing purely for the tourists; this in itself will be problematic to measure.

Staged authenticity can devalue the overall tourist experience "Only thing I saw was staged was, actually that was in Cusco...we went to this kind of restaurant that had this sort of stage show on, it had dancers, I thought it was kinda tacky" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), and the heritage, culture and traditions used are not to educate or appreciate but purely to extract money from tourists, which then causes people to doubt what is genuine and what is exaggerated. It could be argued here that in order

for the tourist in question to experience this, they made an informed decision to attend this restaurant and to experience this scene, thus contributing economically to the continuation of this practice.

Many locals find this degrading and humiliating "The moment you go over and take a picture, they say to you oh give me some tips, one sol, one dollar, ten dollars...that woman sell you one picture you don't know you have to pay...you take it then give me tips...maybe that person is checking your face, oh she has money, oh say you the price...in Cusco don't accept that...they do this just for the tourists" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), disparaging the experience for the tourists. One must take note here that the respondent stated that this is an occurrence in Cusco, implying that elsewhere this is still very much the custom dress, which could create disparity. In other less-touristic towns, this dress is normal as they are poorer, whereas in Cusco the tourists are used "The men are not dressed traditional, but the women, in the city of Cusco I'd say it's more staged" American tourist and first time visitor (2015).

This staged authenticity is also present at the site of Machu Picchu "As the sun rose over the mountain peak, someone started playing El Condor Pasa badly – a very cheesy moment. There was a queue of Japanese over 150 waiting to get close to the 'altar'...covered in people" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), portraying how even at a sacred place, the general cultural devaluation is still present. The respondent here does not appear to acknowledge the possibility that the music could have been produced by a tourist, and not from a local trying to earn money; a key detail in this argument that should be included to construct an informed opinion.



In addition to staged authenticity, there is also danger of embellishments and exaggerations being mistaken as fact "About the tour guides, I had to sort out, what is historical fact and what is a suggested reason why it was there...I don't know how much they know, or embellished" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), showing how fact and suggestion are not clearly defined and differentiated. The respondent here appears to have missed an opportunity to gain clarification from the tour guide(s), and so this perceived notion of embellishment cannot be misconstrued as a sincere representation. This can create different perceptions and interpretations "I've been here twice, had two different tour guides, heard two different stories...for the most part the story was the same, but the added comments, I don't know if they were plagiarism, if they were embellished" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which, for the tourist, can be difficult to tell which is genuine. One reason for the differentiation in stories here could be due to the lack of fact present; much of Machu Picchu's history does still remain a mystery and so does allow for interpretation, which could be where the confusion lies.

The implications present suggest certain aspects of the tourist experience are not necessarily fact but are merely added in order to make it sound more interesting "That's the bad thing about tourism, a heavy touristic spot is flooded with guides, and they don't all have the same take on everything, they probably went to school and learnt different things, then they throw in their embellishments" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). On the other hand, Yu et al. (2014) suggest that a truly authentic experience may lead to some tourists feeling uncomfortable in an unfamiliar environment, and that familiarity provides a safe and comfortable experience. However, this could be "costly to maintain...in accordance with local ambience...achieving a balance between globalisation and localisation should be a significant task for (developers) and managers" (Yu et al., 2014: 115).

### **Lack of understanding, appreciation and respect**

Tourism has caused people to lose appreciation for an area's heritage and culture "Machu Picchu it's a temple...it's sacred, no, but the people yes are treating it like Disney World...I think almost all the people that is going they going to amusement" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), resulting in tourists treating it as just another attraction. One important aspect that should be recognised here, it that both Machu Picchu and Disney World are now tourist attractions, which will attract tourists and subsequent tourist behaviour. It should be understood that it is how the tourism is managed that will impact the site and the experience as a whole; a concept which this respondent appears to have missed.

There is present a definite perceived lack of understanding, knowledge and appreciation shown by the tourists regarding these heritage tourism sites, which in turn affects the respect that these sites receive "A lot of people don't understand the importance of it. Therefore I would say don't treat it with the same respect" British tourist, and first time visitor (2015). Here, the respondent has not appeared to have considered the notion of respect, and that one does not necessarily need to understand the importance of something in order to respect it. In this instance, the respect shown by an individual could be subject to their upbringing, rather than knowledge of the site.

At Machu Picchu, many feel that tourism has caused the sanctuary to lose its meaning somewhat "Machu Picchu is a live place, where you to feel your connection with the mother earth with our sisters...maybe not too many people can understand this...everybody is receiving the wrong idea, about the truth about Machu Picchu all the culture" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). The ancestors have tried to pass on its true significance "Is not the truth about the real meaning of this place or the real meaning of our ancestors try to give to the new generation, it wasn't when they built these

constructions of this culture because is more than a stone architecture, it's more than that it is an energy, a knowledge, a wisdom, and nobody is receiving it...just things from a museum" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). Evidently, this view has been constructed by a local business owner, and has been formed upon their own personal experience. Without a doubt, this is an incredibly generic view of all tourists visiting the site, and should not be considered as a representative standpoint. In spite of this, tourists are not receiving the true experience, and the site is left unappreciated.

Furthermore, this demise of soul has caused some tourists to feel a sense of disappointment regarding their lack of spiritual experience "Wanted to feel Machu Picchu more, and that's what was not the full experience...not to the full extent that I had hoped and envisioned coming on this trip" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This spiritual experience, or lack of, is subjective and will be reflected differently between the various individuals visiting the site. Many factors should be taken into consideration here, for example the weather, the levels of exhaustion experienced by the person in question, and their general mood on the day. On the other hand, Cutler et al. (2016) found through a study conducted in 2008 of tourist experiences at Machu Picchu, that overall tourist experiences were positive "participants were having good reactions to the WHS...participants also focused on learning...discussing site history and Incan culture...learning about self and personal accomplishment" (Cutler et al., 2016: 136).

## **Summary**

Globalisation has impacted local traditions by inflicting westernised culture upon them, which has, in turn, affected the personality of the region. Combined with staged authenticity, this acts as a threat to

the sincerity of the perceived culture, and can cause many visitors to lack appreciation and the correct understanding.

### **6.3 Perceptions of Environmental Impacts**

Tourism can cause significant environmental damage because it is often developed in attractive but fragile environments, where the local development policy is usually focused on meeting the needs of tourists, often without regard for the environment, which can be detrimental to fragile areas where tourism is often present. It is important that the tourism industry acknowledges its potential environmental impacts, as its services usually “rely on the appeal of attractive natural resources, e.g. pleasant climate, clean waters, and diversified animals and plants...tourism (could) be vulnerable to its local impacts; for instance, water pollution, degradation of vegetation, or biodiversity loss” (Tang, 2015: 11). Tang (2015) goes on to suggest that it is mandatory to “develop methods of enabling rapid tourism development in a sustainable manner, while maintaining a high quality of environment through coordination of tourism and the environment” (Tang, 2015: 11).

#### **Sustainability, development and infrastructure**

The development of tourism is occurring at a rapid rate, and is often lacking in sufficient planning and management, thus creating many environmental problems. It has added concern to an already strained level of resources "I think that we have to work more because I've seen that there has been an overspend of water, is a resource that we have to take care of" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). This has subsequently caused speculation at the site of Machu Picchu regarding its partial restoration "What they did is now they're building the road up there with walls and everything else, and

almost like they're invading Machu Picchu, at the same time in 1983, they stopped restoring Machu Picchu, the federal law for ruins said you can't do that" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This demonstrates how stakeholders are having to adapt to cope with the influx of tourists, which is also increasing accessibility and lessening the authentic experience.

This form of conservation could be viewed as false demonstration "When you're adding to it, it's your concept of what those thatched roofs might have been like...we don't know 100% if that's accurate for what, and that's the type of intrusion" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), suggesting how unrealistic theories can be interpreted differently. Here, the respondent fails to highlight that despite not knowing for sure what aspects of the site would have looked like, conservationists simply have had to make educated guesses in order to conserve the site for future generations.

Many are concerned that the site is in danger of becoming unrecognisable "It won't look like the old Inca settlement it was" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Some suggest that it can only develop so far before the attraction is ruined "It's very complicated, it's like killing the goose that lays the golden egg, if you try to do more with it in terms of tourist attractions, then pretty soon you've destroyed it, and it's not the same place at all" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which highlights the importance of balance and management plans and policies. On the other hand, if this conservation and redevelopment does not take place, then the site will continue to degrade and will eventually crumble into the mountain, thus outlining the need for this protection.

Infrastructure is usually identified as the “supply of resources supporting the improvement of the population’s welfare and of certain economic activities, being its provision and maintenance required in the structure of any organisation” (Cárdenas-García and Sánchez-Rivero, 2015: 610). Infrastructure provision, such as energy, transport systems, security and other technology, is “one of the most important tasks for welfare improvement due to their influence on tourism activity” (Cárdenas-García and Sánchez-Rivero, 2015: 610). However, there is concern that certain infrastructural developments could be detrimental to the environment.

There has been mention of an international airport being constructed just outside of Cusco, which could be a dramatic threat to the environment "They're talking about putting an international airport in there...it's about 25 minutes outside of Cusco...it's been blocked by Lima, Lima have started fighting it, it sounds like it's more serious" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This suggests that if the airport has already been blocked by the capital, the potential threat must be serious; with concerns regarding noise levels, pollution, congestion amongst people and traffic, and development on green land. However, one must also consider other motives to block the development, such as increased competition to Lima’s international airport, which the respondent does not consider here.

Too much commercial expansion has the potential to negatively affect the selling point of the area; causing detrimental effects to the environment, creating a surge in tourist numbers, and added pollution levels produced by planes. Some believe that it might be too late for Machu Picchu "Is it possible that Machu Picchu has already tipped out of balance in terms of tourism versus what Machu Picchu needs...the thought of an airport, that would probably go off the charts" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and that tourism has taken over, with the added strain of a potential airport pushing its

limit too far. This could be seen as an extreme view, as one has to acknowledge the importance of management in these situations, to prevent negative impacts and to development in a sustainable manner. In this case, this development may be deemed as necessary in order to cope with the increase in demand. Increased traffic in this area would also be an impending problem "The airport, from that point all the way out, that's gonna end up being a highway, instead of a two-way" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which again fails to take into account the importance of tourism management.

A consensus has arisen that "promoting heritage tourism development can facilitate regional restructuring, economic development and social and cultural recovery" (Peng and Tzeng, 2017: 2). In spite of this, concerns are present regarding the over-development of tourism at heritage sites (Peng and Tzeng, 2017); concerns of which some are regarding the development of Cusco. It appears that the area surrounding Cusco will become more congested due to development "You're gonna see the area around Cusco develop more and more, and in two years I've seen that already" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), raising apprehensions regarding the city's carrying capacity and sustainability "I don't think it's sustainable" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015). One could argue that development and growth is now a regular occurrence at tourist hotspots around the world, and that it could merely be an 'adapt or collapse' situation.

There is clearly a need here to determine whether the benefits from tourism at the site are worth the potential disruption and destruction to the surrounding environment. Some believe that tourism has already ruined Cusco and Machu Picchu could be heading the same way "What we're seeing is a modern day Cusco a pile of stones here, and a couple of churches, it's not the centre of the empire, so we hope

that this doesn't end up the same way" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), conveying an added loss of the city's value and meaning.

### **Environmental degradation and subsequent restrictions and rules**

The development and influx of tourism in areas with fragile environments and ecosystems can cause devastating effects, and in many cases, restrictions, rules and regulations have had to be implemented to either prevent or control these negative environmental impacts. Research suggests that in general, tourism is seriously affecting these environments "You find damage everywhere" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015). The respondent fails to highlight here the potential that the damage in question could have been caused by local people and not necessarily by the tourists. Tourism development is "often a two-edged sword...it can promote economic growth; meanwhile it can cause environmental pollution and ecological damage, if not well planned" (Tang, 2015: 11), and despite the benefits tourism can bring, some tourists believe that eventually there is a point when the negative effects start to outweigh the positives "I think that too much tourism can destroy a place" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This creates further questions, such as how much tourism can be considered as "too much"; an opinion which will vary depending on the interviewee, alongside the difficulty of measuring and comparing the amount of tourism received.

At the site of Machu Picchu, it is evident that a lot of strain is present regarding the current pressure placed on the environment there "There's notable degradation of the ancient site" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), displaying evidence of destruction, which is a strong perception held by many tourists. There has been nothing stated here, however, to suggest that the degradation is nothing other than the natural demise of the site due to time and weather erosion. According to some other South



American tourists, this destruction can be caused by huge numbers of tourists "There is a lot of people, and of course there are stones from 600 years ago, two/three thousand people every day come and visit and go, one time the road there was destroyed" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), with the site receiving large amounts of people daily there is a strain on the carrying capacity. This may just have to be an expected side effect of tourism and increased visitor numbers, which stakeholders will have to consider with regards to the site's maintenance.

Machu Picchu was not designed to accommodate these visitor numbers, thus the pathways are becoming eroded and are getting destroyed "With us all trapesing all over the place, we're probably creating a lot more erosion" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). The extent of the problem appears to have been previously underestimated "They were actually causing erosion, the number of tourists...I'm not sure I was understanding the magnitude of the erosion issue among the international group that's concerned about this....when you have that many people coming at a regular basis, there's a lot of wear and tear along the pathways...all that activity could actually trigger over time other damage" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and there is a danger of this developing into a butterfly effect of negative impacts.

As previously outlined, this is a concept that requires severe assessment and management, as one has to expect these negative environmental impacts, but the key here lays within the methods of restricting the severity of these impacts. One example of a negative butterfly effect is a "random, unpredictable act of nature which culminates in a crisis or disaster situation for a destination" (Speakman, 2017: 285). This degrading environment could see permanent effects and damage if the problem is not rectified soon "Soil erosion caused by thousands of feet is a problem, it looks like Machu Picchu might one day slide off

the side of the mountain" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015). The idea that Machu Picchu may one day slide off the mountainside because of tourists could be perceived as quite far-fetched, and if this were to happen, it would most likely be due to natural erosion, weather conditions, or natural disasters such as an earthquake or mudslide, rather than through the number of tourists present. On the other hand, one cannot state that this concept could be entirely implausible.

The location of the site and the weather conditions only add further concern and uncertainty to its safety, security and sustainability "Some places of it collapsed because of heavy rain, irrigation, but they try to restore it but they claim that they don't have the funds considering it's one of the major tourist attractions" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Here, the respondent appears to imply that there is an unknown reason as to why the site is not being protected efficiently enough, suggesting it as curious since the stakeholders receive so much revenue from it. This displays how sometimes over-development is environmentally dangerous and suggests that tourism revenue might not be being used efficiently for the upkeep of these attractions, which can also be demonstrated through the exploitation of Bali and many other islands for the purpose of tourism.

Cole (2012) examines how the "causes and consequences of the unsustainable and mismanaged tourism development for the fresh water supply on the island" is affected by tourism, and how in developing countries the problems are more prominent due to the "relative power differences between the different stakeholders...management is more difficult because catchment areas are affected by deforestation; deficiencies in water infrastructure; absence of effective pricing and cost recovery systems; and lack of organisational and institutional commitment to apply financial incentives or sanctions to encourage (conservation)" (Cole, 2012: 1221). Environmental tension is present regarding

the long-term destruction of Machu Picchu "The environment of Machu Picchu is under stress...It can only be accessed by train, walking and helicopter" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), although it is still being accessed by polluting transport which negatively impacts it. The respondent appears to utilise the word "only" here as if to suggest that additional methods of transport are needed to reach the site, which would counteract their argument.

These negative impacts have been key points of discussion between stakeholders, and suggestions have been made by many on restricting tourist numbers in the hope of reducing these effects "Serious discussions about making it much more limited to numbers of people that could access Machu Picchu" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). The unfortunate limitations for other people have been highlighted and could be accused of being unfair if others cannot share the experience "It's going to be out of reach for most people...if you restrict tourism, you may not be able to get in" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). One could argue here that if these drastic measures are not implemented soon, then there may not be a site of which to visit at all.

Restrictions are already apparent at the Wayana Picchu climb, where only 400 people per day are permitted entry, having purchased their tickets beforehand "Trails that went from that area, one of them is the Wayana Picchu area, and that has a restriction of 400 people a day, so if you don't have a ticket ahead of time then you can't really look" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). These can be difficult and expensive to purchase, and also means that not everyone will get a chance to climb it. This would strike most people as being a fair way of purchasing tickets, commonly referred to as a 'first come first served basis' with an implication of organisation and sufficient planning on the tourist's part.

In addition to restricting tourist numbers, there is an apparent possibility of the site being closed to visitors altogether, although this remains unlikely "May be one of the final few to actually get into Machu Picchu" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This act of restricting tourist numbers can also be viewed through the management of the Taj Mahal, where due to large crowds and problems with congestion, "lots of problems have been observed resembling pollution, loss of open space, and degradation of historic site, cultural effects, and irritation due to tourist behaviour" (Vishal et al., 2016: 43).

It is evident that the authorities are starting to take the preservation of the site more seriously, however this could be due to the fact that the level of destruction has now become more apparent "One down is preservation...if you don't preserve it, Machu Picchu, the guide told us that perhaps they want to shut it down, close it for a few years, and there's another city that is as big as Machu Picchu but the preservation is not so good, so they're going to try to move all the tourism to there, to preserve Machu Picchu" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), portraying just how important the preservation of the environment is in these destinations of high tourist interest. The argument here would be the potential destruction of the other site mentioned, which instead of alleviating the pressure upon Machu Picchu, this could add further problems and result in yet another site damaged.

Additional restrictions have been implemented "No food, no smoking" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Despite some of these appearing seemingly basic, they may be frustrating for some tourists, potentially more so than merely roping off certain areas "Areas of Machu Picchu could eventually be roped off, so you can come and look at the view but you can't wander around those

structures anymore" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which conveys similarities to children in a museum; being able to look but not touch. This statement does seem to contradict earlier statements, which implied certain areas of the site were already prohibited to the public, which in turn causes uncertainty as to the reliability of these specific perceptions. In the US, visa restrictions to control numbers and manage visitors were implemented after the September 11 terrorist attacks; restrictions which "reduced tourist revenue by \$859 billion with potential job losses of at least half a million" (Li and Song, 2013: 253), demonstrating how certain tourist restrictions can create vast impacts (please refer to Chapter 4, section 4.2 Restricting Tourist Numbers).

One example of how too much tourism has persuaded authorities to restrict access can be studied through the case of Plymouth Rock, New England "Take the example of Plymouth Rock, it's now very tiny...tourists chip away at the rock...had to put a glass closure over it with bullet proof glass...because pretty soon there wouldn't be a Plymouth Rock at all...the rock is now a quarter of the size...what do you think they're doing at Machu Picchu...too many tourists could ruin it" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). This outlines how too many tourists can damage the environment and ancient structures, and also displays how many tourists are powered by greed and the desire to take home a physical souvenir, often without a thought to the possible impacts that this could cause.

An example at Machu Picchu can be shown through their sacred stone "In Indiwattana...is the sacred point at Machu Picchu, for tradition...to give energy...they don't want you can't touch the stone...oil in our hands...too many people touching it is no good...this stone is for touching...Incas made it to give energy...a spiritual ceremony...go into the sacred place for connection...now you can't do anything...Machu Picchu is going to be a dead place" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015).

This displays evidence of how steps are already being taken to reduce the negative tourism impacts, which can limit the tourist experience. The respondent here seems to comprehend the importance and reasoning behind the prohibition of the public touching the stone, however they do not appear to agree with this decision, suggesting that the access to the stone by the public is of greater importance than the protection of the stone itself. Stated by a local resident and an ancestor to Machu Picchu's inhabitants, this perception seems quite bizarre, as one would presume that they would wish for the greater protection of their heritage.

This poses a question "How much has, what are we seeing that really has deteriorated already?" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), every year people visit, perhaps tourists and stakeholders are unaware of the damage that has already been caused and not realised as to what extent. This appears to be a rather vague question, as the site itself is already a ruin, which would suggest that a large part, if not all, of the site has already deteriorated to an extent.

Tourism has also impacted upon the quality of the environment in other towns, including natural features such as rivers, impacts caused by it exceeding its carrying capacity "I was talking about the river, totally polluted, you ask the guides, he can't fish here...he told me all the rivers near, all of the waste from Aguas Calientes is not treated, he told me there's a fish in every kilometre"" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015). Here, the current level of pollution is highlighted, alongside problems regarding counteracting the adverse effects of tourism. It should be noted here that the level of tourism does not necessarily mean that it is the primary reason for the level of pollution in the rivers; this would suggest poor water management and ineffective water treatment which would be the responsibility of the local authorities. Litter and the ability to cope with tourist waste is also a prominent problem "Piles of

rubbish" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), which could be due to the lack of waste disposal areas in the country "Like everywhere in Peru, they miss garbage cans" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015).

The prominence of litter and lack of waste disposal units would suggest poor tourism planning and inefficient management schemes to prevent this build-up of waste; it could be argued that this is not the fault of the tourists themselves, nor the amount of visitors the area is receiving. Sustainable management and effective planning would prevent this waste accumulation. It appears that the problem is so great, that individual tourists fail to see how they can improve it themselves "I generate a lot of waste, a lot of tourists generate a lot of waste, that waste is perhaps not sustainable" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), implying how each person still generates this waste, which has to go somewhere.

A lack of education regarding these negative side-effects, relating to tourists and locals alike, is creating a lack of respect for the environment "It's like they're so sociologically inferior about what to do, what you are seeing, if you find a house with all the windows crashed, you don't take care...you throw garbage because it is common" Argentinian tourist and first time visitor (2015), suggesting that people tend to take better care of places that are already cared for. On the other hand, the respondent here appears to be suggesting that this tourist behaviour is common and representative of the tourist group, of which there is no evidence to support this.

Concerns regarding Aguas Calientes have also been raised "Aguas Calientes looks like a disaster (landslide/fire) about to happen" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015), showing how its rapid over-expansion could be detrimental to health and safety standards and sustainably. It must be noted here that this is merely an observation and not a concern which has been scientifically researched; the author of which has not expanded upon this point and discussed it further.

The swift growth and development of Third World tourism has the ability to accumulate capital, whilst "driving tourism to the four corners of the earth...however, it is factors such as natural disasters, political instability, the environment (which) play a significant part in governing the ebb and flow of Third World destinations on and off the tourism map" (Mowforth and Munt, 2015: 30). This research implies that areas experiencing high levels of tourism will be prone to stages of growth, which then result in either stagnation, decline, or in rare cases, regeneration (see Butler's model of 'The Destination Life Cycle', Appendix 1), unless they are managed correctly and efficiently "We don't know how long the historical place will last for, a lot of places get ruined" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). The respondent ceases to acknowledge here the natural impact and demise to these ancient sites over time; a demise which occurs with or without the presence of tourism.

### **Overcrowding and congestion**

A key theme that has been present throughout this research, is regarding the large number of tourists to the site of Machu Picchu, which causes overcrowding and congestion, concerning both tourists at the site and also increased transport. There are concerns that it is exceeding its carrying capacity and putting a strain upon the environment "There was only 600 people that lived there, today, Machu Picchu receives 2,500 people, so if you see there is four times the people that live there are now every day"



Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). There is a lack of discussion here involving the site's potential carrying capacity; this could raise questions as to whether it can withstand a much larger number than the original inhabitants of hundreds of years ago, thus proposing the ability to cope quite steadily alongside the daily surge of 2,500 visitors.

A similar situation can also be found regarding the Island of Malaysia, where the "rapid tourism development...has destroyed the island's ecosystem...high tourist arrivals have increased the capacity pressure on the island and diminished the quality of the experience" (Ng et al., 2017: 101). The management at Machu Picchu are attempting to control the situation but are faced with problems "Our guides said that they're having about five to six thousand visitors a day, and they're trying to restrict it, but they're coming from trails, there's people coming from foreign countries, and they don't wanna not let them in, so they originally restricted it...they weren't gonna sell anymore tickets" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). These setbacks are difficult control when visitors are entering the site from different routes, and despite the number of visitors per day varying between research participants "Per day it is 3,500 tourists" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), it is clear that the site is still receiving a huge amount of tourists and is well over the advised limit. There does, however, appear to be some disparity here between the respondents, with regards to the number of visitors the site is currently receiving per day, thus creating some inconsistencies within the data.

These numbers of tourists are impacting the overall experience "I think there's too many people going at the same time, because you cannot take pictures without finding many people, a lot of people, there's too many, too crowded and too much noise" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). These numbers also lessen the enjoyment level "If you're going with a tour, the tours usually arrive at the same time, so

you come with the critical mass all the time, and that can be frustrating" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), due to it being too busy. It could be suggested that there is a need here for tourists to comprehend that they themselves are contributing to the large numbers of visitors, and are subsequently part of the problem.

These numbers appear to detract from the spiritual experience, of what many travel in hope of finding "You think going to Machu Picchu is going to be a mystic place, and instead you find a disorder with relation to people" Peruvian tourist and regular visitor (2015). Here, the quantity of people are altering its potential splendour and awe "You're there with so many people, and they're taking so many pictures, and so are we, but it detracted from being able to get the full experience, so it's like an irony, because if I wasn't there with all these other tourists, then I wouldn't be there at all" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Another view suggested here, outlines the conflicting and hypocritical views that tourists are faced with, as they then experience their own selfishness by not wanting to share it with others.

The time of day and season plays an important role as tourist numbers depend on these factors "In the high seasons in May, June, July, August, it's a lot of tourists come to Cusco, and it's difficult finding, trying for transport everything...in the high season it's difficult because there is a lot of people who are waiting because if you want to take a picture in one place, you have to wait, some tourists pass you" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015). Here, it can be demonstrated how in the busier periods the number of tourists can cause problems involving congestion and transport, with the added difficulty of controlling the flow of visitors. It could be suggested here that tourists could be advised to avoid these periods in order to receive a more enjoyable experience, with regards to visitor numbers and congestion. This makes the site crowded and thus ruins the atmosphere.

According to Jarvis et al. (2016), high levels of development increase tourist dissatisfaction, and “indications of overdevelopment and congestion significantly reduce tourist satisfaction” (Jarvis et al., 2016: 4). Contradictory opinions were also found between participants regarding the busiest points of the day “We arrived early but it soon filled up and was busy” British tourist, and first time visitor (2015), suggesting that the mornings soon become crowded, however “Afternoon maybe more people” American tourist and first time visitor (2015), others believe the peak time to be in the afternoon. This disparity within these perceptions does raise uncertainty with regards to the data, as these are two conflicting opinions. One also would need to discuss the definition of what each respondent would call “busy”.

This surge in tourists throughout the day can dramatically change tourist perceptions of the site “It gets worse because it gets more crowded and it's less authentic” Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015), and many are surprised at the level of congestion “When we arrived at Machu Picchu, I was absolutely flabbergasted that there were tourists all over the place” British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It is astounding that so many visitors do not expect a large number of tourists in which they encounter upon their arrival at the site, which raises questions as to the information distributed beforehand or the personal research of the experience undertaken by each visitor before arriving.

Interestingly, several participants made references to travelling water when describing tourists at the site “Flooded with people” American tourist and first time visitor (2015), with the use of flooding here accentuating the density of the people and that it was not merely 'busy', “When you go to Machu Picchu, you do have the streams of tourists everywhere” British tourist, first time visitor and travel

advisor (2016), and again the use of streams implying fast-flowing in all directions, uncontrollable almost, as if they are flooding in.

All in all, it seems that the majority of people visiting Machu Picchu are not showing the site sufficient respect "Have the masses come and tread all over it...I certainly think that there should be a much tougher limit on the number of tourists out there, and I definitely think that trekkers should be given a priority" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), and that management teams and stakeholders have a duty to enforce stricter regulations regarding who visits and how many. Determining who is allowed to enter the site, when and under what circumstances would perhaps be an unrealistic task for the stakeholders, as their objectives and standpoints would differ tremendously, one would imagine.

### **Atmosphere and experience at Machu Picchu**

Spiritual connection with heritage sites can be deemed as important "a large number of major tourist destinations that have been developed over the years due largely to their association with sacred people, places, and events; and (visitors), who embody the intersection of spirituality, religiosity, and tourism" (Kreiner and Wall, 2015: 691). This research suggests that the overall tourist experience at the site of Machu Picchu was negatively affected by a variety of factors, including tourist numbers, limited time and tourist facilities. In many circumstances, tourists felt that they were unable to connect fully with the heritage site "I wish everyone could be quiet so I could just absorb the enormity of the beauty, the enormity of the history that's there, get that connection with all of mankind really, it connects us all together and you want to feel that, want to be in that special place want to feel that right deep in your soul and it's very hard when there's the distraction of people" American tourist and first time visitor (2015).

One could argue here that the people present could enhance the experience, as they would be sharing it with the tourist community and perhaps some selflessness is required here. Methods to restrict the noise levels could also be suggested, such as headphones. These tourists perceived that the number of people present did not allow them to fully appreciate the experience "I think it's hard to be moved in the hustle and bustle, of the tourists all over the place" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Although tourism had increased accessibility "It has become a bit overexposed, takes away the sanctity and the uniqueness of it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), the advertising had caused a higher number of visitors, detracting from the setting. These respondents are seemingly placing a blame, if you will, upon their fellow tourists for an experience which they feel has been taken from them. It should be recognised here that as they are also tourists, they themselves could also be tarnishing the experience for others. Nevertheless, if the number of tourists present is detracting from the overall experience, there is most certainly a need for the stakeholders to re-assess the situation and perhaps instate a greater limit upon the entry numbers.

Additionally, many found the general tour of the sanctuary to be rushed, and felt hurried on more than one occasion "I would see a particular setting...it was very powerful, and I feel moved...and all of a sudden "oh, we gotta go here!" And you lose it" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), which shows a forced nature, and lessens the overall experience if one cannot take one's time to absorb and enjoy it. The respondent fails to acknowledge here that they made an active decision to experience the site alongside a group, which would presumably involve travelling around the site at a respective speed for all to enjoy as a collective item. It could be suggested that if some felt that they would prefer to take more time, then to explore the site solo without the presence of a group.

Alongside the rushing, problems with congestion and density at the site are also highlighted "It was flooded with people, got to get on the bus, get off the bus, get on the train, get off the train, get with your tutor group...and hopefully you'll make it in because otherwise you gotta get bus tickets...and you're already hurried...the hustle and bustle didn't let me get ready for it" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). The level of tourism and number of visitors was a negative surprise for some tourists who did not expect it to be so congested and busy "Attitude has changed a little bit, it was disappointing for me" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). Once again, the season and time of day should also be taken into account here, alongside the respondent's definition of what they perceive an overcrowded area to be, as this could differ between individuals. According to Jarvis et al. (2016), in order for tourism to remain sustainable into the future, visitors should "experience high levels of trip satisfaction, therefore having a greater likelihood of returning to the region...environmental, social and economic factors all have quantifiable impacts on the tourist's trip satisfaction and therefore their likelihood of revisiting" (Jarvis et al., 2016: 14).

Those tourists who had participated in the Inca Trail, appeared to find the arrival at the site somewhat disappointing "What I would have liked to have seen is facilities for the trekkers, or maybe for the people that organise the treks, to give you a little bit more time to rest, because we got up at 3 o'clock in the morning or something ridiculous on the last day" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). Here, the respondent felt deserving of some sort of reward or more recognition for those who trekked, as if it were a prestigious thing to do. One could highlight here, that if these suggested facilities be present upon arrival for the trekkers, it would add to current development already existing at the site.

Furthermore, the reason for arising so early on the last day is to witness the sunrise at the Sun Gate before entering; a detail which the respondent has chosen not to include here.

The general consensus was that it was too rushed, too crowded, and the lack of relaxation time took away the enjoyment "By the time you get to Machu Picchu, you're pretty shattered...You're just trying to find somewhere to get some water" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), which outlines how the pressure from trekking can cause great fatigue on the last day and that the busy schedule means that tourists' needs are not necessarily adhered to. Research suggests that better pricing strategies at the site and tourist facilities could improve and reduce the congestion "I think if they had dropped the prices, it might actually disperse the crowds a little bit, if they had a larger facility for eating and drinking, and for a better price" British tourist and first time visitor (2016).

Again, the suggestion of an additional facility present at the site contradicts previous views of development present, which could cause confusion as to the tourists' desires. This is a problem which has been highlighted as a key trend regarding visitor satisfaction "Bus or by train...however they get people there, I don't think that's actually fair, we walked and hiked for four damn days to see this amazing place...covered by thousands and thousands of visitors who just literally just get out of a bus or a train...really disappointed with that, and actually that really detracted from the impact of Machu Picchu, it was like what's the purpose if you can just get on a train and see it" British tourist and first time visitor (2016).

There are also suggestions that alternative, easier routes to the site were unfair and that tourists participating on these methods of transport were almost undeserving "All they're gonna see, is an ancient civilisation but without the history or background of it" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), implying that it would be a wasted and unappreciated experience. It should be noted here that one of the respondents in question made an active decision to participate in the Inca Trail, rather than visiting Machu Picchu via bus or train. Subsequently, it could be argued that this interviewee may not possess a worthwhile point of discussion here regarding the choices of other tourists in selecting other modes of transport to the site.

### **Summary**

Environmental degradation at the site of Machu Picchu is perceived to be one negative result of tourism, together with erosion and littering. Additionally, high visitor numbers are believed to create overcrowding and congestion. Subsequently, restrictions and regulations have been implemented to reduce these negative impacts.

## **6.4 Perceptions of Economic Impacts**

In general, national governments and benefactors have aimed to promote private sector investment in the tourism sector, without necessarily taking into account the needs and opportunities of the poor regarding tourism development in an area. Investors are usually "international companies and local élites, whose profits are generally repatriated abroad or to metropolitan centres...links with the local economy are often weak, with the possible exception of employment" (Ashley et al., 2000: 1). According to Kim et al. (2013), tourism can cause property taxes to increase, the price of goods and services to



increase and the price of land to increase; which can lead to residents being forced out of an area. This demonstrates how the poor, powerless residents lack the privileges to discuss this tourism development with the associated companies. In the long-term, this can cause detrimental effects and can increase financial instability further amongst the local people. This section aims to investigate how tourism is perceived to be creating various other negative economic impacts to these societies.

### **Overdependence**

The rapid growth of international tourism in the late 1900s, from exports to the service sector, specifically tourism, has resulted in “significant economic dependence on tourism...the issue of dependency and consequential questions regarding the sustainability of tourism development are common themes (in literature)” (Sharpley and Ussi, 2014: 87). There is a great concern that the development of tourism in the area of Machu Picchu has caused the local people to become greatly reliant upon the industry "Everything seems tourist related, there seems no other form of living" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). Moreover, some are concerned that these locals are much too dependent on tourism itself "Yes I think they are dependent, many shops for tourists" French tourist and first time visitor (2015), so much so that without it the economy could suffer "I think they're pretty reliant on tourism and tourists" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015). It could be argued that as tourists, the respondents are far more likely to be drawn to commerce aimed towards tourists than to regular means of living, which could explain the common observation regarding the number of tourist-related industries and attractions in the area.

It has been suggested that if this tourism industry was affected in any way, the current state of the local society and ways of living could completely change for the worse "The local people are hugely dependant on tourism...I think they would be extremely poor, I think it would be devastating to them, I

think they'd continue to survive, but it would definitely have a huge impact, well it's their main industry, it's their main source of income...it would have a devastating effect" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). This could be catastrophic and send them into poverty due to their level of reliance; demonstrating how tourism ripples through their society and economy. It could be argued here that the removal of tourism to the area would not only affect the local communities, but would also have an impact upon the country of Peru, as previously stated, many of the financial benefits to tourism are filtered through to the Peruvian government and distributed accordingly throughout the country.

Additionally, it has also been implied that the tourists themselves are given a greater priority over the local people "Cusco it depends a lot on tourists, I am not against tourists but I think that any business has to be controlled and if they give more importance to the people that is their home, than the foreign people but is the other way around" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), which highlights how the importance of tourism is perceived by the community and by stakeholders. Here, the respondent fails to explain why they perceive the authorities and stakeholders placing a higher importance upon the tourists over the local residents. Without reason or sufficient evidence to prove this, it remains problematic to assess and justify this statement.

Sharpley and Ussi (2014), studied the development of tourism in Zanzibar, and found that although "encouraging and supporting small business enterprises is seen as essential to the sustainable development of tourism in Zanzibar" (Sharpley and Ussi, 2014: 94), the government, whilst encouraging foreign investment, had failed to comprehend the "need to invest in developing local businesses to encourage import substitution, backward linkages, increased local community capacities and economic

growth" (Sharpley and Ussi, 2014: 94). This lack of support for the local people and their businesses has only increased animosity further between the residents and stakeholders.

In Peru, there are dangerous levels of co-dependency "If there was some sort of political situation where the tourists could no longer go, then yeah that would massively ruin that town, there would be no real reason for tourists to go there it would just be the locals living there" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), where there is some evidence of tourism and Machu Picchu being mutually exclusive as one could not survive in the area without the other. This could have disastrous effects, as small businesses would suffer and locals could be re-introduced to worrying levels of poverty. It might be noted that if there was present a political situation so dire that tourists were unable to visit, that perhaps the local community and Peruvian government would have greater problems to manage than a tourist hotspot.

This overdependence is apparent not only at Machu Picchu, but in the nearby towns such as Cusco, Aguas Calientes and Ollantaytambo "Some of the people are too dependent on tourism, if, for example, Cusco, because so many of the Inca Trails start from Cusco, that has changed the town a lot" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). One could argue that these towns have benefited from their proximity to the site of Machu Picchu, and have subsequently been able to develop as a result of this.

However, developing a town in such a way through tourism can be seen as unnatural growth influenced by outside factors, which only increases levels of dependency further. For example, Cusco has seen a

huge wave in the number of tourists due to the tours offered there of Machu Picchu "Now it's different, we don't have tourists but for us the Incas in Cusco, because only the tourists have entrance in Cusco on the tours" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), which has caused the locals to become reliant on them. This respondent appears to show animosity towards the tourists here, implying that the local people are not able to attend the tours. This also suggests that it is not only the tourists that have an interest in the site, and that potentially the Peruvian people would also like to participate as consumers, thus possibly lessening the strain upon the industry. In some cities, tourism is the "main economic activity and the only current source of local economic development" (Gutierrez et al., 2017: 278), and can find themselves under enormous pressure from tourism.

The growing demands of tourism, mainly in historic towns and cities, have "brought about a reactive response to the problems of coping with increased visitation... (and) pressure from tourism is becoming a real source of conflict between tourism stakeholders and residents" (Gutierrez et al., 2017: 279). It appears that these towns are reliant on tourism in order that the local people can maintain their current quality of life "The other towns, the smaller towns like Aguas Calientes and Ollantaytambo, I don't think would survive without tourism" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016), towns which would potentially be poverty-stricken without the existence of tourism. Stating that a town would not survive without tourism, does seem slightly extreme however, as it could be contended that the local community would most certainly adapt to their previous way of life before this tourist boom, and would make a living through alternative means.

Aguas Calientes is a town built with the purpose of accommodating tourists, therefore, the removal of tourism to it could be disastrous regarding the income of its people; many of whom work in local

restaurants, hotels and run market stalls "With Aguas Calientes...if you removed all of the stuff that is clearly just there for the tourists, then that could be a nice little town hidden in the mountains and stuff, it's not that really is it, with all the restaurants and the people there...Ollantaytambo...I knew it was quite basic when we went in... but still probably hasn't changed for the better, if you removed everything there" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). Contrarily, the town of Ollantaytambo might not be impacted upon quite to the same extent, despite there not being much else there if tourism were to be removed from the equation. The respondent here does not seem to acknowledge that Aguas Calientes is a purpose-built town constructed to accommodate the growth in tourism to the region. Therefore, the removal of it, one could argue, may not be catastrophic, as the region could continue to exist without it. Ollantaytambo has not been greatly impacted by tourism thus far, and for that reason could maintain its presence on the map, without too great an impact.

Alongside the danger of overdependence, there is also cause for concern regarding potential unemployment in the area "I really think that there will be a lot of unemployment, because what would they do now, they're not used to growing an agricultural area" American tourist and first time visitor (2015). The people now rely too heavily on tourism, most trades and other ways of making a living appear to have been forgotten about, which is a result of a large percentage of the population working in the industry. It should be noted here that the exportation of farming goods such as potatoes is also a reasonably large industry in Peru, therefore without the presence of tourism, workers may have to turn to their next largest source of income and would therefore help cultivate the farming industry instead. On the other hand, it seems to have arrived at a stage where tourism is now a mandatory part of the life of locals, and allows them to continue to survive with their current means "If all tourists just left right now, there would still be a lot of people without money I think, there's a lot of tours and travel agencies,

agencies everywhere, so I don't think they would manage without tourists" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015).

Without the existence of tourism, it appears that they would regress and struggle economically and socially, despite the potential environmental benefits. Interestingly, Sinclair-Maragh et al. (2015) discusses the idea that indirect tourism workers are not actually dependent upon the industry. They found that residents could work both directly and indirectly in the tourism industry, and suggests that "by working indirectly in tourism; they were not dependent on the industry to provide jobs for them" (Sinclair-Maragh et al., 2015: 43).

The local residents in this region rely on tourists to earn a living "It's a shame that they have to rely so much on their crafts to make a living because you always feel guilty that you're not buying more" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), which demonstrates their level of dependency, despite it being a good way to utilise their talents and traditions. There is no evidence to suggest here that these residents' sole source of income is through these crafts alone. Their craft-making may be a hobby of which they would like to display for the tourists, and not as a way of earning a living for their families. It should also be noted that this statement is merely an assumption as to their purpose of selling these crafts. Here, one can see how important the industry of tourism is to these communities, and also the potential dangers and threats that may arise if it were no longer there.

Tourism has altered these towns and the communities which reside in them, and has developed them in such a way that the removal could result in many negative impacts, both to the society and to the

economy "If there were no tourists there, it would just be Machu Picchu itself, there's no people living there or anything, there would be no one visiting it, in terms of the nature and stuff like that, clearly it would be better...would be a complete natural side of it" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). One could argue here, that communities could continue to reside in this area, even without the existence of tourism, as the rivers and valleys provide fertile land for growing crops and for farming, therefore the natural environment would still encourage the Peruvian people to remain inhabiting the region.

There has certainly been a tremendous change to these areas, but many fear that this change is not for the better as nature would not be subject to decline in such a way. It has now become almost a given that tourism can create obvious changes within communities "Anywhere where tourism goes, it does change things quite a bit, obviously people commute there from other areas in the country, so you get homeless people and people like that" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016).

The resulting impacts are now becoming common attributes to tourism, some of which highlight the levels of desperation which some people face regarding these dangerous dependency levels and the need for employment and income. Clavé and Wilson (2017) describe this tourism issue as 'path dependency', implying the need to "remain on the same track once established, with an associated implied sense of impossibility as regards breaking with production routines and a limited capacity for innovation" (Clavé and Wilson, 2017: 99).

### **Maintenance costs and inflation: increased living costs and taxes**

In spite of the apparent swarm of tourists to the region of Machu Picchu and the surge of revenue from tourism that the area is currently experiencing, the Peruvian people are still incredibly poor "They are

some of the poorest people in the Western hemisphere" British tourist, researcher and first time visitor (2015). On top of this, local residents are finding it extremely difficult to afford to visit and appreciate their own heritage, which many find unfair "It's very expensive...with the trains...for Peruvian people...a wrong thing because English people have...Stonehenge...easy to go, but for Peruvian people...hard to experience your own culture, this is very bad for us...Peruvians just know Machu Picchu through books or through Internet...The Peruvian people can't go there...nobody knows the real (importance of) Machu Picchu" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). This not only highlights the importance of Machu Picchu to the Peruvian people, but also of the feeling of frustration which they possess regarding the desire to partake in the heritage left to them by their ancestors.

One could argue here that it is the physical location of Machu Picchu which makes it difficult and expensive to get to, whereas the comparison used here of Stonehenge in the UK is relatively easy and inexpensive to visit. Styliadis and Terzidou (2014) examined how the economic crisis impacted residents' perceptions of tourism development in Greece, and found that "in times of economic uncertainty, perceptions and attitudes are subject to various types of economic and psychological influences...with (residents) facing budget cuts and austerity measures, the way residents perceive the state of their local economy, is expected to influence their responses to tourism development" (Styliadis and Terzidou, 2014: 211), displaying how residents' attitudes towards tourism could be affected by their own economic stability.

There appears to be a distinct lack of funding regarding the maintenance of the general area "Now they need revenue to upkeep the roads...they're gonna need more revenue, it's the domino theory" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and now, in what seems to be a never-ending cycle, the higher the



tourist number reflects the increase in pathway and road erosion, which results in a higher spend in maintenance costs to counteract these affects. It could be noted here that it is through these financial benefits from tourism that has enabled the region to develop their infrastructure at the outset.

These funding discrepancies have been questioned by many, as Machu Picchu has seen an increase in entrance costs in recent years "We keep hearing there's no funds to restore the major tourist attractions which seems kinda odd considering that some places cost an arm and a leg" American tourist and first time visitor (2015), and many have suggested that this could be in response to these lack of funds. However, it must be highlighted here that revenue received from these tourist attractions will be distributed through many channels, and the cost of the upkeep may outweigh the income received.

The current situation highlights a key problem of which Peru faces regarding its tax laws "It's horrible...like a ghost town, because if you see in Peru...if you've got a house and providing you're still building it, you don't have to pay taxes" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). Here, one can find outdated tax and development jurisdiction, which does not appeal to tourists and could also negatively affect tourist satisfaction levels if an area appears dilapidated due to these laws. It could be proposed that it is the responsibility of the state here to amend or update these tax laws, in order that buildings are completed and the infrastructure reflects the beauty of the area in which it lays.

Additionally, these laws appear to encourage a subordinate quality of life amongst its residents, consequently reflecting poorly upon their government "Everything's unfinished, and it just looked like a Syrian war-torn city, awful" British tourist and first time visitor (2016), conveying how money generated

from tourism should be aiding locals to renovate and develop the area sustainably to benefit all. One could argue here that this is a common problem within many LEDCs (less economically developed countries), and is not only apparent in Peru.

Kim et al. (2015) researched how hosting large-scale sport tourism events impacted residents' perceptions of tourism and found it to increase "security costs (and) property cost inflation" (Kim et al., 2015: 23). It was also uncovered that by hosting these events, an "excessive amount of spending on unexpected infrastructure and venue development...price inflation and increased local taxes...these negative impacts can trigger lower levels of support from residents" (Kim et al., 2015: 29), conveying how tourism can increase the cost of living for many residents, and therefore creating a local disdain for the industry.

### **Financial motives and personal agendas**

Research has suggested that the effect of tourism to an area can turn heritage into a form of money-making tool, rather than a site to be merely appreciated. This can cause a heritage site to lose a sense of authenticity, and can create a negative environment where stakeholders start to use their heritage solely for their own financial gain "Not all the people that come are good people, a lot of people just come for business and take a lot of mineral and resource from here, and our government they all the same they just sell their souls for money" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015).

In the case of Aguas Calientes, tourism and the desire for tourism revenue has caused locals to appear as primarily motivated by money, which is displayed through their sales techniques "Everyone was like

"come to my restaurant" the whole time...drinks offers as well...they just want people...if they see a group of people they're really aggressive...they know that groups tend to spend a lot more...like a small section of them in so that the rest of the group comes in. That wouldn't happen if it wasn't for the tourists" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). This technique of pressure-selling can be interpreted by tourists as greedy and can be seen as very invasive and intruding, making the tourist feel intimidated and displaying a lack of pride for their heritage. Tourism has created a vision of how tourists are perceived by locals, in which tourists are used for financial gain and custom, whilst depicting a lack of morality.

Imran et al. (2014) found that money was a key incentive for protecting the sustainability of a heritage tourist site "stakeholders' orientations towards the environment and conservation were influenced by economic incentives and benefits... (local communities) were committed to conserve the environment if they received benefits" (Imran et al., 2014: 297); communities which then displayed engagement alongside a financial agenda. Imran et al. (2014) revealed how economic incentive was a huge motivational factor displaying how economic benefits drive conservation.

With regards to the surrounding towns around Machu Picchu, tourism has very much taken over the way of life for the local residents "It is pretty touristy...with Aguas Calientes, you get the people on the street, trying to aggressively get the tourists into their bar, into their restaurants, their shops, and in Cusco you've got a lot more of the sunglasses men selling them" British tourist, first time visitor and travel advisor (2016). The people here seem almost desperate to extract money from the tourists, resulting in a lack of passion and pride. One could possibly understand here the desperation within these particular sales techniques, as these local people are faced with an uncertain and inconsistent income, therefore

sympathy and understanding should perhaps prevail here, rather than presuming these tourist workers are merely aggressive in nature. Additionally, the importance of extracting this money is placed as such a high priority, that tourists can fail to benefit from receiving the true meaning of the heritage "They really think have to try to teach the local people more than the foreign people, but it's not no, this globalisation, this money, try to give money" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015), where locals are taught about their heritage but the tourists are not, at least not to the same extent.

The sole aim in this situation appears to be to gain as much tourism revenue as possible, and not so much to impart historical information onto the tourists, which highlights this as a key problem of globalisation. Torabian and Arai (2016) highlight that in order to "encounter an authentic foreign culture, tourists need to get away from the main streets, shopping centres, and attractions where only staged authenticity is presented" (Torabian and Arai, 2016: 699). They also argue that "commodification and globalisation destroy local authenticity" (Torabian and Arai, 2016: 699).

Machu Picchu is believed to be an incredibly spiritual place by many, an aspect of the site which some fear has been lost amongst this globalisation "They tried to teach about the culture just try to show that these stones will give money for us, this materialistic thinking, but really they should be thinking that this our culture and more than this they develop in human being, not just money" Local Peruvian resident and shop owner (2015). This further displays money as having a greater importance than knowledge and understanding. The respondent here does not seem to consider the importance of receiving this income unfortunately, as it is through this income that their tangible heritage is currently being preserved, and through this tourism that the local communities are able to teach foreign visitors of their culture and

history. On the other hand, this appears to result in tourists not being taught the true meaning, not receiving the true experience, and an overall lack of priority placed on their ancient Inca culture.

### **Summary**

Overdependence and subsequent unemployment pose great threats to the region around Machu Picchu. Inflation has increased the cost of living for the local people, and rising taxes are resulting in many people being unable to afford to complete the construction of their homes and afford basic means.

## **6.5 Overall Negative Perceptions**

It can be said that tourism drastically changes and impacts an area; impacts and development which can be viewed as either positive or negative, and result in various outcomes. It has the danger of lessening an area's cultural worth regarding their heritage and traditions, through the process of globalisation, and causing an area to become too centralised around tourism "Machu Picchu is just a touristy place, there's no origins left of people living there, Cusco is quite touristic" Dutch tourist and first time visitor (2015). Machu Picchu appears to be becoming hugely touristic and tourist-orientated, alongside a key danger of the site losing its meaning, despite the respondent here stating unprecedentedly the lack of origins within the area.

Tourism appears to have westernised the area surrounding Machu Picchu by creating a surge in amenities such as restaurants, hotels and various staged attractions, which in turn reduce the area's unique appeal "I think tourism has taken away some of the uniqueness, I had never realised that so

many people travelled to visit Machu Picchu" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It should be highlighted here that these amenities are necessary in order to cope with the demand of the tourism, due to the area's unique appeal.

The key attraction and main reason for people to travel from all over the world to this part of Peru, is to witness the spectacle of Machu Picchu. Although this is expected and understood, it can cause the towns of the region to be utilised as merely a corridor to the site "The main thing is Machu Picchu" Local Peruvian resident and owner of a Machu Picchu tour company (2015), where little to nothing is known of these towns before a tourist's visit. It could be argued that perhaps members of these communities should be appreciative as to the presence of Machu Picchu, due to the revenue it has brought to their previously unknown and otherwise inconsequential towns and villages. Here, a lack of appreciation can also be seen by the tourists regarding these settlements, and despite there being a great tourist turnover, visitors do not stay long.

There is an increasing danger of this region over-developing to cater for tourism and exceeding its carrying capacity "Making it too kinda touristy, it can only be a negative" British tourist and first time visitor (2016). It should be noted here that this is merely speculation regarding the region's future and its ability to cope with a proposed increase in tourism. Regardless, this increase, or even continuation, could create many problems within these societies, by negatively impacting the area's fragile environment and ecosystem, and creating rippling effects throughout their economy; all of which hold the potential to create further long-term detrimental impacts if a suitable balance is not adhered to in the short-term.

## 7. Conclusions

To draw this research to a close, one must first understand that the research undertaken was qualitative in nature, and that the resulting findings vary from person to person, as no one personal experience of tourism and its effects will be the same as the next. The range of methods and techniques utilised within this research are discussed further in this concluding chapter. The interviewees were all from diverse backgrounds, and each playing different, yet important roles in the tourism process. The diversification of interviewees regarding their role in the region's tourism allowed a variety of sources from which to extract information from, so as to create a more unbiased outlook of the overall perceptions. Moreover, conducting both individual interviews and dyadic interviews, alongside email interviews, allowed for greater opportunities to obtain interesting and informative views and opinions, both from the short-term and long-term tourist experience.

This research has uncovered a wide range of perceived benefits and disadvantages regarding the tourism present at Machu Picchu and its surrounding area, which have been separated into the three categories of sociocultural, environmental and economic perceived impacts. The research undertaken and subsequent responses received have been divided into these three categories per chapter so as to digest and analyse the information easily and arrive at individual conclusions to sum up each section. It became apparent throughout the research that each response represented either an environmental, economic or sociocultural aspect of tourism impacts, from which the views were both negative and positive and offered a multitude of interesting perceptions.

This perceptions study has also delved into various observed management plans and strategies implemented to control and minimise the negative impacts from tourism at the site of Machu Picchu. These final concluding comments refer to the perceived sociocultural, environmental, and economic impacts, and to the perceived management strategies and their observed effectiveness through the three research objectives, found below. Additionally, the methodological approaches used and further comments with regards to suggested further research have been discussed towards the latter part of this chapter, alongside this augmented desk study's contribution to academic literature.

The three research objectives used to study people's perceptions are as follows:

- To uncover which perceived measures are highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.
- To discover the key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.
- To understand the key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

Below, these three research objectives have been discussed with regards to the study's findings; highlighting the perceived tourism controls in the area, alongside the perceived sociocultural, environmental and economic impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu and within the region.



**To uncover which perceived measures are highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.**

Over the years, many attempts have been made by various stakeholders to counteract the negative impacts caused by excessive and uncontrolled tourism to the site of Machu Picchu. Due to the sheer volume of stakeholders involved in managing the site, there has been confusion and conflict regarding launching and implementing management strategies and plans, causing uncertainty and a lack of progression. The current measures and management plans in place regarding the site of Machu Picchu were analysed at the commencement of this perceptions study, and it was highlighted that the various stakeholders and management teams have had no choice but to devise multiple management strategies and plans to combat negative impacts caused by tourism, so as to increase the chances of a realistic plan viable to all involved.

Research suggested that a method had been implemented to reduce detrimental impacts to Machu Picchu such as overcrowding, erosion and congestion, through the restriction of tourist numbers, either daily or annually. This prevents overcrowding, congestion and erosion, which not only improves the experience at the sanctuary, but protects the environment by helping the site remain inside its carrying capacity which subsequently prevents irreversible side-effects. This is a particular concern due to the location of the site and the likelihood of landslides and torrential rain in the region, meaning Machu Picchu is already at a great risk of natural destruction, alongside its town, Aguas Calientes. With an increase in growth, an increasing population, and not to mention an increase in visitor numbers, this risk puts thousands of lives and jobs at risk, clearly displaying the importance of planning and tourism management.

The UNEP (2008) suggested that the current management plans are failing, which is due in part to an "unbalanced emphasis on overall carrying capacity and a lack of specificity regarding management goals and objectives". In addition to the perceived current strategies implemented at the site, suggestions have been made to increase the frequency and length of the periods of closure, which would enable it to recover sufficiently for the following tourist season, for example closing the site for an additional month in the year alongside February. According to Larson and Poudyal, (2012: 933), the future of the ancient sanctuary depends on the ability to "balance preservation, utilisation and sustainable growth", which should be the sole aim and purpose of all tourism management plans for Machu Picchu, in order for the site to survive for future generations.

Additionally, entry prices have increased alongside permit requirements and bookings in advance for the Wayana Picchu trail and the Inca Trail, which many presume is to aid in recovering costs of the upkeep and renovating parts of the heritage site. With this increased fee, many hope that the overall condition and general impressions of the site would be improved, aiding both socially and environmentally. Unfortunately, it would appear that the stakeholders managing the site continue to disagree on such matters, preventing substantial change.

All in all, it remains clear that there is a great need for stakeholder collaboration. Consistent and transparent collaboration will ensure that positive steps are taken towards maintaining this heritage site and its region through solid and realistic management plans, to allow Machu Picchu to be truly sustainable and present for generations to come. Clearly, it is hugely important and meaningful for those who not only live in the area, but for those who visit it, and it would be a true travesty if poor

management led to its demise. This research has highlighted the unfortunate greed many have perceived as present within the tourism industry, placing a greater importance on short term profit rather than on longevity and cultural significance. These current management strategies may suffice for the time being, but doubts are already present in people's minds as they wonder how the site can fully prosper sustainably into the future while management strategies, plans and stakeholders remain disconnected and unrealistic.

**To discover the key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.**

This research has unveiled the unwavering popularity of the world heritage site of Machu Picchu, which appears to be consistently top of many people's bucket list. It can be argued that the site is completely uncomparable with any such site on earth, and its mystery and sheer beauty captures the hearts of thousands each year and remains front-of-mind as a top destination to visit. Alongside the volume of publicity it receives, it is a site of not only natural beauty but of cultural significance for the Peruvian people through their Incan ancestry. One could argue that Machu Picchu truly is a global treasure, to be protected and preserved for future generations. This study highlights how many perceive tourism to have impacted the site, and how the industry appears to have shined positivity and prosperity upon the Incan settlement.

The key perceived benefits and positive attitudes held by a variety of respondents were studied, and this research has uncovered how many believe tourism to have improved the quality of life of the local people, by re-instating pride and passion into their heritage and ancestry. Their culture and traditions

have appeared to have become objects of fascination and wonder to foreign visitors, who are enthralled with their intriguing secret hidden high up in the clouds. Tourism seems to have highlighted the incredible importance of the Inca's unique history, and has enabled the local residents to feel a sense of empowerment, personal gain and self-worth regarding their opportunity to share their world with others. Mason, (2008: 43), indicated that the tourism industry can be responsible for the "creation of employment; the revitalisation of poor or non-industrial regions, the rebirth of local arts and crafts and traditional cultural activities, the revival of social and cultural life of the local population, the renewal of local architectural traditions", which would, of course, be through the provision of accurate, realistic and sustainable management plans.

The implementation and promotion of community-based-tourism (CBT) seems to have also enhanced the quality of life further for the local people, as their sense of worth and civic pride increases as a direct response. The increase in CBT appears to have also promoted tourism as a positive industry to local people as they reap financial rewards, a growth in the interest of their culture and traditions, alongside an increase in development through infrastructure and transport links. The fame of Machu Picchu has no doubt created a surge in interest regarding Peruvian culture and heritage, which appears to have made the local people immensely proud of their heritage and willing to share their traditions with their visitors. A continuous growth of tourism to the area and pure fascination of the culture enables the local community to adopt a true identity and an opportunity to reinvent their heritage and reignite it, which in turn validates the very thing the tourists travel hundreds of miles to see.

Machu Picchu is renowned for its spiritual energy, with thousands trekking each year in search of empowerment. Whilst these tourists are discovering their personal spiritual empowerment, the local people subsequently receive a different type of empowerment themselves; cultural and social empowerment, encompassing tremendous pride and a true sense of self-worth.

This study has helped to highlight how many perceive tourism to be a key contributor to development in general, including sustainable development. It can be argued that the industry of tourism has helped create and promote sustainable development, through more substantial and modern infrastructure and transport links to further improve accessibility to the area and the heritage site. According to many, it would seem that tourism has allowed the region to prosper and has encouraged positive growth with an increase in wealth for its people. This perception is also reflected within the overall positive appearance of Cusco's centre, which appears to be thriving. This here is a clear example of the potential for tourism and development to become mutually beneficial, as both industries prosper off one another. The respondents questioned strongly believe that development within these towns and villages has been done so in a way which compliments the surrounding buildings and style of the areas, so as to enhance the original structures instead of destroying the appearance of these places.

It would seem that the presence of tourism has aided in the regeneration of the region and the Machu Picchu World Heritage Site, and has created awareness and understanding for the importance of protecting the environment and heritage for future generations. Throughout this research, concerns regarding carrying capacity have continuously been raised, which can have a detrimental effect on any environment, providing steps are not taken to preserve it and influence positive awareness regarding a

site's protection. The respondents interviewed suggest that key steps have already been taken by the site's management to preserve it and the revenue received by the tourism is being used in part to renovate and regenerate areas of the site and places within the region. Additionally, for the people involved in protecting Machu Picchu, this role is proving to be a rewarding project for them, boosting moral further. This study has highlighted how many, residents and tourists alike, feel that the presence of tourism is currently drastically improving the structure and standard of the monument, by preventing the environment from being overgrown and providing pleasant surroundings for its visitors. Tourism certainly seems to be a strong contributor to the lust for life the region is projecting by bringing it into the modern world while aiding in the preservation of its key heritage.

Furthermore, the presence and growth of tourism in the region has created a need to maintain a high standard of physical appearance in the area, in order to prevent a decline in visitor numbers and levels of satisfaction. Many of the respondents questioned felt that due to the importance of the appearance of the site with regards to visitor numbers and revenue, management have made the general site upkeep a top priority. The appearance of the site also reflects the number of tourists visiting the site at any one time, which impacts the general tourist experience. This research suggests that despite some episodes of congestion at the monument, in general, the dedicated pathways and tourist group distribution did not cause any great problems or impede upon the site's atmosphere, displaying effective management and crowd distribution strategies.

It has become increasingly apparent through this research, that tourism has the ability to provide and create many jobs, in particular for persons who would otherwise have struggled to find employment, such as local residents with few skills, a lack of education or with limited opportunities. At the site of

Machu Picchu and its surrounding area, many employment opportunities have been created with regards to tour guides, shop owners and workers, and working in hospitality such as in restaurants and hotels.

This increase in employment opportunities within the tourism sector seems to have subsequently improved the overall tourism revenue received. As demand increases, so does the need for more restaurants, more accommodation, more tour guides, even more bus drivers. Greater demand requires a greater supply, and with that, greater tourist expenditure is received. In turn, this allows locally owned businesses to expand and prosper, in order to accommodate the surge in tourist numbers and a welcomed increase in profits.

By assessing the respondents' views throughout this perceptions study, one can argue that the entire region surrounding Machu Picchu is incredibly reliant upon the tourist industry, in order to maintain their current continual income and lifestyle, alongside allowing the local residents to remain above the poverty line. There are present some concerns regarding the over dependence upon tourism, however many believe that if such a collapse in the tourism industry were to happen, the surrounding areas would sustain through alternative sources of income, such as farming. Tourism remains one of the few legal industries in this area of Peru, therefore the survival of it is fundamental to the safety, security and stability of many people who are dependent upon it.

**To understand the key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.**

The key perceived disadvantages and negative attitudes held by the residents and tourists alike were also studied, and separated into the three categories of perceived sociocultural, environmental and economic impacts for convenience with regards to data analysis. The sociocultural impacts discussed in this study relate to cultural breakdown, westernisation and the subsequent loss of tradition, whereas the perceived environmental impacts relate more to the protection and conservation issues of green space, alongside problems regarding overcrowding, pollution and the gradual destruction of heritage structures. Furthermore, respondents discuss their perceived economic drawbacks to tourism in the region of Machu Picchu, with reference to employment dependency, tax and inflation.

The development of tourism around Machu Picchu is occurring at a rapid pace, so much so that many locals feel their community is beginning to lose its identity due to the vast changes in the area and within their culture as many adapt to western culture and traditions. This is subsequently causing these communities to disregard certain traditions, such as the phasing out of their ancient Inca language, Quechua, to be perceived as westernised and more developed, and concern is present regarding the overdevelopment of Cusco morphing into a generic tourist city.

It can be concluded that the swarm of visitors to the region and the growth of western culture has altered the local traditions through the processes of globalisation and westernisation, resulting in a loss of personality, originality, and in some cases, has lost authenticity within certain traditions.



Combining this loss of authenticity with staged authenticity, there is great concern that what many tourists are perceiving to be true culture, is in fact an embellished form for entertainment and financial gain, which is not only deceitful and insulting to the history of the Incan Empire and Peruvian heritage, but causes many tourists to lack true understanding and appreciation. At Machu Picchu, many locals perceive tourism to be causing the sanctuary to lose its true meaning, and despite attempts from these local people to pass on the significance of their precious ancestry, there is feeling that this perhaps is a lost cause.

Many respondents believe staged authenticity to be a means of manipulating a custom for personal gain, which subsequently can cause the custom to lose its true meaning. The implications present of embellishments are suggested through this study as a method of creating a more interesting tourist experience, regardless of whether it is a genuine experience, which in turn can create a lack of trust between the tourists and the local people.

It cannot be argued that the development of tourism within the vicinity of Machu Picchu is occurring at a rapid rate. Stakeholders are clearly struggling to cope with the velocity of this growth regarding the demand on resources available, which appears to be creating many environmental problems. There is present added concern that an already strained level of resources will wilt away further as tourist numbers continue to rise, placing pressure on the land and water resources to accommodate these people. Additionally, many respondents believe that these negative tourism impacts may cause the region of Machu Picchu to become unrecognisable, where it will surpass its development potential and begin to decline. Furthermore, this study outlines fears regarding the carrying capacity of Cusco, as it

continues to become more congested, with local people perceiving the city as a lost cause and fearing that Machu Picchu is heading the same way.

Through this study, it has been made apparent that the presence of tourism at the site of Machu Picchu has created significant environmental degradation. The large numbers of tourists present each day is not only exceeding the site's carrying capacity, but is perceived as a major contributing factor, and results in clear destruction at the site. It is true that Machu Picchu was not designed to hold these vast numbers, therefore environmental degradation is taking place on a daily basis with management struggling to keep up with renovations. Moreover, there has been an increase in building work to increase transport accessibility, creating further disruption to the ecosystems present. Various restrictions have been implemented in an attempt to counteract these perceived negative tourism impacts, which subsequently negatively affect tourists with regards to availability and cost.

This study indicates how the huge influx of tourists to Machu Picchu each day creates an overcrowded and congested atmosphere, according to the study's respondents. There have been many questions raised as to the longevity of the site with regards to its ability to withstand this number of people in comparison to the number of persons inhabiting the sanctuary hundreds of years ago. With regards to the stakeholders managing the site, there have been a number of setbacks experienced in attempts to control the tourist distribution at the heritage site, as visitors enter from a variety of different routes, proving difficult to stem the various tourist flows. In addition, respondents believe that the majority of people visiting the site do not show it sufficient respect, and that it is the responsibility of the management to enforce regulations in preventing this subsequent site destruction by these tourists.

This study suggests that the overall tourist experience at the site of Machu Picchu was negatively affected by a variety of factors. Alongside high tourist numbers, respondents also felt they had limited time to absorb the experience when travelling in groups. On more than one occasion, some tourists felt unable to connect spiritually with the heritage site, as they had desired. The continuous problems with congestion were outlined as key tourist perceptions, and suggestions were made as to the sheer number of these visitors present actually detracting largely from the overall visitor experience. This research makes suggestions towards more appropriate pricing strategies being used and better placed and larger tourist facilities to improve the overall experience and potentially reduce site overtourism.

As a result of this, subsequent perceived restrictions and regulations have been implemented with the aim of minimising or even preventing these negative environment impacts from occurring. Mason, (2008), argues that if a fragile site of natural and cultural heritage, such as Machu Picchu, exceeds its carrying capacity, then there is a danger that the site may not ever fully recover. Mason continues, and outlines the growing conflict between tourism activity and the wish to conserve landscapes and habitats; a concern which, from this study, is a clear perceived ongoing battle of sustainable growth.

Many respondents in this study have presented great concern regarding overdependence upon the tourism industry in the region of Machu Picchu. The considerable rise in tourism has created many opportunities for local communities, mainly through employment, however throughout this study it has become apparent that many perceive this dependence on tourism as a negative side effect of the industry, and fear that these communities could suffer considerably should the tourism industry collapse in the region. This would, without a doubt, pose a large threat to the welfare and livelihoods of thousands of people employed in tourism in this part of Peru. This is a key example of how tourism has

the ability to truly ripple through both an economy and a society, demonstrating its true power and also its dangers. Interestingly, many have also suggested that tourists appear to be given a greater priority over the local people, which displays a clear importance of the industry as perceived by stakeholders.

Due to the surge in tourist numbers to the region, the cost of inflation has risen for the residents as a direct result of this. Subsequently, taxes have been increased, making the cost of living substantially more expensive for the local people than in previous years. This has unfortunately encouraged a subordinate quality of life amongst residents, and therefore creating an unattractive environment to live in and to be perceived by visitors, and which in turn, reflects poorly upon the Peruvian government. With these rising taxes, many respondents believe that a large proportion of the local residents are struggling to complete the building work of their properties, with the added expenses, and, in some cases, to afford the basic necessities. Subsequently, this increase in the cost of living has the potential to create disdain amongst residents regarding tourism within their region. Furthermore, local respondents suggested that the residents themselves can now no longer afford to visit their own heritage, which many find unjustified, therefore highlighting the importance of Machu Picchu to the Peruvian people, but also the perceived feelings of frustration amongst them.

This research displays how many perceive tourism to be a method of transforming Machu Picchu into a money-making tool, instead of spiritual site to be appreciated on a cultural plane. This transformation appears to have caused the site to lose its sense of authenticity, creating a perception of a negative environment generated by money and greed, where heritage is violated for financial prosperity. This great desire for tourism revenue has created perceptions in the eyes of tourists where residents are seen to be primarily motivated by money, and not by the love of their heritage and the desire to share it with

others. Many local people appear to be pressure-selling in order to earn money, which to tourists is seen as intrusive, aggressive and intimidating. This apparent importance placed on money is perceived as such a priority amongst local workers that many of the tourist respondents questioned suggested that it restricts them from receiving the true meaning of the heritage, upon which others have blamed globalisation.

A qualitative approach was used in this research so as to capture the verbal data of respondents which allowed for a greater freedom of expression, all the while reducing the time taken to reflect upon the response. The open-ended interview questions evoked emotion and captured this emotion from the respondents' experiences. In order to evoke controversy or passion, researchers such as myself would opt for qualitative research as the optimal method to use, and by utilising this technique of semi-structured interviews, I was able to collect true and meaningful data.

Moreover, I chose to conduct further interviews and emails once back in the UK, to obtain long-term tourist experience recollection. As a qualitative researcher using email as a technique for obtaining data, I found that it allowed for many advantages such as increasing access to participants and encouraging a greater level of participation in those who have limited time.

I chose to conduct individual interviews as well as dyadic interviews, so as to uncover the tourist behaviour which truly reflected the tourist experience. By shifting the interviews from a one-to-one conversation to a three-way conversation I was able to increase the volume of data I was receiving while also creating ease within those responding to the questions. All in all, these types of interviews appeared

to provide a wealthier source of vital information to my study, as the informants were able to recollect more information through sparking memories within the other. Due to the small sample size, I used the method of triangulation and cross-corroborated two or more data sources to address concerns of reliability and replicability, which helped to add weight to various perceptions and subsequently created more reliable data.

As a visitor in another country, I could have been considered a tourist, to some extent I was. Through conducting this research, I was able to be aware of my positionality as a researcher and ensure that I made a transition from the perspective of a tourist to that of a researcher; from observer to participant. As this was an ethnographic approach, it was required that I deeply considered a variety of ethical issues throughout the research and constantly reflected my own positioning as a researcher in order to remain objective and not subjective, alongside ensuring I made no influence upon the results. Moreover, I also found interesting the variety of perceptions I myself possessed through the difference in stances towards certain issues or perceived impacts, which allowed me to grasp the situation as a whole to aid in this reflective and critical research and data analysis. This enabled me to understand that the small, seemingly insignificant details in researcher positionality truly aid in developing these conclusions.

### **Further comments and key findings**

The World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu, and its neighbouring towns and villages, has been undeniably affected by tourism, in positive and negative ways alike. Many perceive tourism to the region as beneficial, helping to regenerate the area and providing jobs for the local people. On the other hand, there is also present concern regarding the loss of culture and lack of meaning with regards to the local heritage, through the existence and growth of westernisation in the region. It can be argued that

without the existence of tourism, the area would differ hugely from its current state, and would most probably suffer from poverty at a greater scale. It can be argued that the tourism here has allowed the local residents to enjoy a significantly better quality of life, with particular reference to job prospects and income, which subsequently appears to be enabling these Peruvian people to work towards building an enriched future for the next generation. It should be noted, that with the correct and suitable management plans and strategies, there could be an opportunity here for sustainable development to prevail, in order to permit a brighter and more prosperous future for the World Heritage Site of Machu Picchu and for the region's Incan ancestors.

Overall, this study has highlighted the immense change tourism can bring to an otherwise poverty-stricken region. In the vicinity of Machu Picchu, including towns such as Cusco and Aguas Calientes, the industry has caused dramatic change to ripple through the economy, the environment, but most importantly, the society. It has created a westernised culture, and encouraged development in the forms of not only infrastructure and transport, but with regards to resources to accommodate tourists such as hostels, restaurants, Irish pubs and tour companies. Furthermore, it has sparked societal development, so much so that tradition is either being lost completely in an attempt to appear westernised, or it is being utilised in ways that are deceitful in attempts to draw money out of tourists. Unfortunately, it appears tourism is transforming the people of this region to become materialistic, and causing them to lose sight of the significance of their heritage and ancestry in order to financially gain and rush into the modern world without true consideration and respect for their past. With these newfound luxuries and improved quality of life, there is present undeniable concern that these communities have become completely dependent upon the tourism industry, which could pose a real danger should the industry be stripped from their grasp.

### **Suggested further research**

Further research would be ideal here, in order to compare the perceived and actual effects of tourism upon the site of Machu Picchu and within its region throughout the past ten years. This would be in order to make a true comparison and to obtain a thorough understanding of tourism's impacts upon the region's society, culture and traditions, environment and economy. In addition, a prolonged stage of research at Machu Picchu and within the region would be more beneficial, as a fortnight could be deemed as insufficient time to gain a depth of understanding. If this research would be undertaken again, many factors would be altered, such as a much greater number of interviews conducted, the length of time spent in Peru undertaking this research, a clearer initial research aim, objectives and interview questions produced beforehand and also a comparison with a different time of the year, to allow for more representative results.

It could also be interesting to study additional areas of tourist interest in South and Central America, if not globally, to ascertain how different tourism hotspots and/or World Heritage Sites are impacted by tourism and how their stakeholders manage these sites and tourism impacts. With reference to these different management plans and strategies, it could also be instructive to make a comparison here as to how the local residents and tourists in these specified destinations perceive these tourism impacts. One would highlight in this suggested further research variants such as location, climate, age of site, reason for World Heritage Status and ease of access to the site, for example, which would allow sufficient depth and breadth of understanding to form constructive and clear conclusions.



With regards to the method used of dyadic interviewing, an alternative interesting stance from a more psychological perspective could be to compare people's reactions to tourism as an individual compared to those in a couple or a group to ascertain whether the tourist experience changes depending on whether you are sharing it with others. For example, a heritage site being visited by a solo traveller may not be received as a hugely enjoyable experience, whereas sharing the experience with a loved one may evoke more positive emotions and create a more memorable experience.

### **Contribution to academic literature**

Overall, as previously mentioned within the literature studied, these findings suggest that the perceived negative socio-environmental impacts of tourism, in particular in areas of natural and cultural importance, is an enduring problem. With complicated management plans and a crossover between stakeholder responsibilities, there are present many complications regarding funding and from whom; in addition to controversial management strategies. According to Styliadis et al., (2014: 261), local people are being integrated into a system over which they have no control "If tourism development is to benefit the local community, attention should also be given to the residents' image of the place rather than that of tourists' only", which demonstrates how conflicts have the potential to arise between local residents and tourists, should management strategies fail to meet the aims of integration.

Moreover, this research has contributed towards the key literature previously studied by further assessing how stakeholders manage tourism at World Heritage Sites, and how effective the interview respondents perceived these strategies and plans to be. Dredge and Jamal, (2015: 285), state how tourism planning is "one of the most significant influences on how tourism develops, who wins and loses, and how benefits and impacts of tourism are distributed", with the aim of increasing and

maximising the benefits of development, whilst minimising or potentially preventing consequential destruction and disruption through tourism to communities and to AONBs (Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty) and to SSSIs (Sites of Special Scientific Interest) such as Machu Picchu.

The research gathered in this study appears to contradict some of the key research outlined earlier. Overall, people's perceptions appear to be slightly more positive with regards to the management of the site of Machu Picchu, in reference to littering and congestion; with barely any litter visible and many restrictions in place regarding visitor numbers, ticketing and booking in advance due to visitor limitations. Through this research, it has been made apparent that the World Heritage Site has most certainly been caught between the "explosion of tourists and the exploitation...between the protection of inestimable heritage and speculative economic interests related to tourism" (Zan and Lusiani, 2011: 157), which will continue to be of great concern unless realistic and sustainable management plans are implemented in order to promote longevity and the survival of the sanctuary for future generations.

One key finding uncovered by this research, is the impact tourism has had upon the local community and also on the cultural values of the indigenous Peruvian people. It has created and encouraged societal development in such a way that it appears to be affecting the underlying value of the local traditions and the heritage, and replacing it with greed and the desire to join the modern world with regards to items of luxury and the riddance of outdated ways. The velocity and extent of this particular type of development could be considered as alarming, causing the tourist experience to be tainted with staged authenticity and embellishment.

Finally, one must address the importance of the research question ‘To what extent are there clear, identifiable perceptions of tourism impacts in the region of the World Heritage Site, Machu Picchu?’, and the three research objectives listed below in order to validate the worth of this perceptions study.

- To uncover which perceived measures are highlighted as current ways to control or minimise the negative impacts of tourism to Machu Picchu.
- To discover the key positive attitudes held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.
- To understand the key negative perceptions held by local residents, industry workers and tourists concerning tourism at the site of Machu Picchu and the surrounding areas.

This study has outlined how tourists, residents and local workers perceive tourism as impacting the society, the local culture, the environment and the economy in the region of Machu Picchu, including the surrounding towns and villages. It has highlighted key negative impressions towards the development of the local society, while suggesting positive ripples through the economy and outlining the need for better management plans to aid in the sustainability of the heritage site’s environment.

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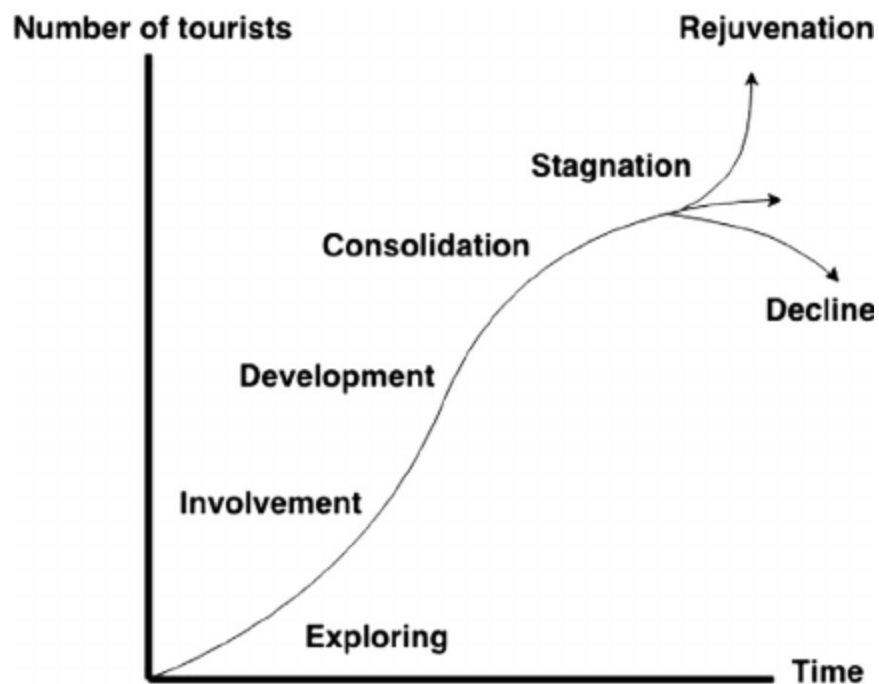
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## 9. Appendices

### Appendix 1

Butler's Model of 'The Destination Life Cycle'.



### Appendix 2

A map of the region in Peru where interviews were conducted. These interview locations are displayed using green stars.



## Appendix 3

Transcriptions of all interviews conducted both in Peru and in the UK, in addition to the two emails received.

### Interview 1

Interviewee status: Local Resident/Business Owner

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: Ok so could you say your name into the microphone please

ES: My name is Era, I am Peruvian

Me: what is your job role here?

ES: my job?

Me: your job, do you work here?

ES: yes I work in the shop, in this shop, with my grandparents

Me: your grandparents, and what sort of things do you sell?

ES: yes I work in the field, in the ground, as well in the shop selling, and my career is in advertising and marketing

Me: ok, um how do you feel about tourism to Machu Picchu (MP), how do you feel about it? Is it negative, positive?

ES: tourism, tourism is good, the way that the people is going, the way that the government is working with MP, it's a bit confusing, because really MP it's a temple, no? It's something sacred, no, but the people yes are going to Disney World, yes?

Me: do you feel it's overcrowded or it's not being managed properly by the government?

ES: exactly. It's not good management

Me: ok, have you been to MP yourself?

ES: yes

Me: what was your personal experience, how did you find it? Did you enjoy it, were there good/bad aspects?

ES: of course MP is amazing, you can feel the energy there, I feel wonderful and I think all the people that goes is very well, almost all the people I think, but, you know, it is good, it's nice

Me: so you enjoyed the overall experience?

ES: yes it's nice, but there is too much people, no? But, what we can do, no?

Me: was it well-kept? Was there litter or pathways that were broken up?

ES: no, MP is clean, there is a lot of security, no? now for example in Indiwattana, you will know, you will know is the sacred point at MP, for tradition, this point is for give energy that, now they don't want you can't touch the stone, no?

Me: they're not allowed to touch it anymore?

ES: no

Me: why is that?

ES: because is true that we have some oils in our hands, no? It's not good for the stone, yes and too much people touching it's no good, it is true, no? But for in another way, this stone is for touching, no? The Incas made it for give energy, no? For to do ceremony, no? A spiritual ceremony. Yes yes you can touch it, you can go into the sacred place for connection, you can do anything, yes MP is going to be a dead place, yes?

Me: a dead place?

ES: yes, but is not, MP is a live pace, where you to feel your connection with the mother earth with our sisters, no? Maybe not too much people can understand this no? But is like this, for us it's sacred

Me: is anyone doing anything, like is the government doing anything to help the situation, to prevent bad things happening up there, like overcrowding or pollution, do you know if the government have any schemes to improve tourism there at the moment or is nothing being done?

ES: the government is doing, it's protecting this monument, yes?

Me: how are they protecting it?

ES: you can't touch, you can't go to the er..

Me: so they're restricting areas?

ES: exactly, no too much

Me: too much restriction?

ES: too much restriction.

Me: ok, do you think that without that restriction though, the place would be worse?

ES: yes, yes because the people are visiting MP they want to do a ceremony, they want to feel it, no? But I think almost all the people that is going they going to amusement, no, nothing more than that, but it is not like this.

Me: do you understand the concept of sustainability, like development that is going to last a long time that is going to benefit a lot of people

ES: yes

Me: do you think that MP can be sustainable, the development up there is it sensible development? Is it going to be good for the long term not just for the short term?

ES: ah yes, the government is trying, with these restrictions, this sustainable because there are a lot of people that is going, a lot of money, no? So MP because now there is just a restriction as well with the quantity of the people that can go in, I don't know how many people that can go, more than the number

Me: is there a restricted number that's allowed up there every day?

ES: yes

Me: are they going over that number?

ES: exactly

Me: and that shouldn't happen

ES: no, it's very expensive, expensive with the trains, everything is expensive, no? For Peruvian people, it's very expensive

Me: do you feel that as a local person it should be cheaper for you to go up there as it's your heritage?

ES: this is a wrong thing because English people have to know, like the Stonehenge, have to be easy to go, but for Peruvian people they do, it's hard to do it, hard to experience your own culture, this is very bad for us, because you can't experience, the Peruvians just know MP through books or through Internet, no? But it's very important this connection with your culture, it gives a really proof in your society, it's not just like a monument

Me: like a cultural bond?

ES: a life cultural that is strong

Me: do you feel that tourism has maybe taken away the traditions, the culture that you have?

ES: not taken away, the people, the foreign people give MP like a monument, and the Peruvian people can't go there, almost nobody, for anybody knows the real MP the real importance of MP, nobody, not you not us

Me: how do you view your cultural heritage? How do you see it? Erm where you come from, the whole, the past, the background of Cusco, your past, the whole area, how do you see it? Are you proud of it? Your culture?

ES: my culture it's, the society in the world is trying to disappear, all the culture, the globalisation is not bad, but it has to be respectful about all the traditions, each people the society in the world trying to disappear it, we are a city like 500 years, it's attacked, the Peruvian people we are quiet people, tranquillity, we give the welcome all the people that comes, no? but not all the people that come are good people, a lot of people just come for business and take a lot of mineral and resource from here, and our government they all the same they just sell their souls for money, and we are assiting more, we have to give this culture to our sons because it's the only way that we will preserve it.

Me: as a local person, do you feel that the people of Cusco rely too much on tourism?



ES: no I don't think too much, but it have to be more controlled

Me: so you're not too dependant on it if tourism wasn't there you'd survive and have businesses?

ES: yes Cusco it depends a lot on tourists, I am not against tourists but I think that any business has to be controlled and if they give more importance to the people that is their home, than the foreign people but is the other way around.

Me: is tourism a vital part of the economy?

ES: yes, the tourists in Cusco the tourist economy is very important, I think Cusco is more for money from tourists, more than other places in Peru, but all Peru as well, tourists are very important for economy.

Me: do you feel that tourism has revitalised or regenerated the area and helped it develop better? Like buildings or financially, you understand regeneration?

ES: yes

Me: has tourism regenerated the area?

ES: yes because from the time that the tourists get strong, more monuments more like Machu Picchu and other places, it's more, the government try to save and rescues all these monuments for the tourists, is very good

Me: just for the tourists or for the local people as well?

ES: no just for the tourists

Me: just for the tourists?!

ES: exactly, they think that it is not very well no, they tried to teach about the culture just try to show that they these stones will give money for us, this materialist thinking, but they really thinking that this our culture and more than this they develop in human being, not just money.

Me: so it's not very authentic what they're showing as your culture?

ES: exactly.

Me: the main motive is to get money from the tourists, it's not to teach them about your culture?

ES: yes they really think have to try to teach the local people more than the foreign people, but it's not no, this globalisation, this money, try to give money

Me: why do you think that people visit Peru and Cusco?

ES: the people that come?

Me: the foreigners, the tourists, why do you think they come here?

ES: why they come here? I think the people come here to try to look for culture for all traditions for things that are losing a lot of places in the world, it's a contradiction, something you know that society is trying to kill the traditions in the world but the people for the genes are trying to look for this tradition as well no, something is against this thinking, is again with another thinking, a contradiction in the world,

the people is trying to look for culture, but the society is trying to kill the culture, one culture in all of the world and the wrong culture as well.

Me: has tourism changed MP for the better or for the worse?

ES: the tourists?

Me: as in improved it?

ES: I don't know if is good or wrong you know, but everybody is receiving a wrong idea, yes about the really truth about Machu Picchu all the culture, everybody is giving the wrong idea, some things are good things and some things are bad things. I think not better or worse but is not the truth about the real meaning of this place no or the real meaning of our ancestors try to give to the new generation, it wasn't when they built these constructions of this culture because is more than a stone architecture, it's more than that it is an energy, a knowledge, a wisdom, no, and nobody almost nobody is receiving it, you understand? Not you not me, nobody, just things from a museum.

Me: ok great, we're finished! Thank you very much!

## **Interview 2**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: Hi I'm Charlotte, nice to meet you. What are your names please?

Mario: Mario

Me: ok and your name is?

Natalie: Natalie

Me: so how do you feel about tourism to Machu Picchu? Do you think it's good/bad, your personal experience?

N: I think it's good

M: me too, I think it's good and all the services are new and are made especially to make comfort to all tourists.

Me: ok so you've been there before, how did you find it? Did you find it overcrowded or was it clean or?

N: oh yes, I think there's too many people going at the same time, because you cannot take pictures without finding many people, a lot of people, there's too many, too crowded and too much noise.

M: too much noise, too many people

N: makes it a little bit disorderly

M: yes, sometimes for example, there are restaurants in Aguas Calientes and restaurants in those are full, when you go to Machu Picchu you will think that it will be hard to find a good place to stay one night, then go to MP, but everything is, I think it's well –organised by the authorities, yes

Me: ok so who's it, I suppose it would be the government who organise it wouldn't it?

M: not the government, I think that it's the regional government

Me: the regional government of Cusco?

M: yes, of Cusco and the Ministry of Culture, yes it's from the government, ok

Me: do you know if there's anything currently in place to help prevent negative effects of tourism up there, are there any restrictions that the authorities have put in place?

M: at MP?

Me: yes

M: well the guide, that was speaking to us or explaining MP to us, in that each MP there was only 600 people that lived there, today, MP receives 2,500 people, so if you see there is four times the people that live there are now every day, I think that years ago when they decided to restrict the quantity of tourists, I think was a good decision

N: I think that also, when you think going to MP is going to be a mystic place, and instead you find a disorder with relation to people

Me: ok, do you understand the concept of sustainability?

M: yes, I work in the, I build towns

Me: oh right, awesome! Is there anything there that makes it more sustainable, the tourism more sustainable or does it need to be more sustainable?

M: yes I've seen many laws or announcements about using the plastic bottles and garbage and something like that, anyway I think that we have to work more because, I've seen that there has been an over-spend of water, is a resource that we have to take care of it, well about energy is not a problem because of I really haven't seen that, they spend a lot of energy to have a day in MP for example, but yes I think that they are doing well for sustainability

Me: as Peruvian citizens, how do you view your cultural heritage?

M: I don't understand the last two words

Me: cultural

M: ah ok

Me: heritage

M: ah

Me: how do you see it? Is it important to you?

M: yeah for sure, of course

N: yes of course, but I find that in Cusco, is losing their personality

M: their identity

N: yes, because there's too many people, foreign people, living here

Me: living here?

N: yes, because young people like hippies, or young people they do what they want, we went to Pisuc, the market of Pisuc, and we found some foreign people singing and playing drums and guitar, music that is not from here, so we found that it was a disorder and we asked for the people, local people, and they said that they had asked these people to go away, and they wouldn't go, and they allow, er the authorities don't do anything about it, I think there is a lack of authority in those places

Me: ok so you kinda feel like tourism has taken away the foundations of your culture?

N: yes, the way of life, they used to do things and don't now, because of the tourism, they are doing other things, and they don't belong to the area

M: we think that it is these foreign people come and decide to stay in MP, or Cusco or Pisuc or Ollubamba, to try to do what their own culture

N: they report their culture to the local people but it's not important for us

M: ok, you can live by your own that's ok, but you have to respect the identity of the country

N: the local people

M: the local people

N: the local culture, because it is very valued the local culture and we find that it's changing, it has changed a lot

Me: do you find that tourism has maybe helped regenerate the area, you know, bring some money into the economy, so improve, help build and develop the area, the money generated from tourism?

M: yeah sure, sure, but it starts first with the commercial items, no, because the first thing that is market, you can buy and you can sell things, after that ok maybe there is a lot of visitors, or you need more hotels then you have to invest in a new hotel or 5 start hotel, ok that's right, ts being , its passing here in Cusco, and not only in Cusco, in whole Peru

N: we travel a lot

M: yeah, and we been, a month ago, we've been in the jungle, and right now in Cusco, next week

N: but here in Cusco is amazing how tourists change the personality of the way of life here, yesterday we been in Sanblais, up there, and there's a lot of foreign people living there, their own business, their own way of life, it's nice but

M: but they are doing well because they live on their own but they respect all the Cusco people, what is not well is that for example and suppose that English people come to Cusco and says "ok no more Coca tea, let's have English tea" (laughter) it's something like that!

Me: as locals, why do you think that people visit? Like why do the tourists come here, what brings them here?

N: because they think they are going to move back in the time, because our culture is an alive culture, no? and people here lives their own way in small towns, and foreign people wants to see that way of life that they don't find in the main cities

M: I think the most important things, I went to a meeting of the Minister of Culture I think, told us what were the three points to promote Peru, there were first history, then nature or jungle then third was when you live with people, I don't know how you say in English

N: mystic tourism

M: mystic tourism, it's for example, first we have a lot of history you know

N: like in Puno, you know, in Puno you can go and live with families and lake, you can go and live with them is an experience

M: yes, for example we have a lot of history, not only in Cusco, in south we have history and in the north, I don't know if you know, in the south, in the centre, in the jungle, a lot a lot of history, Peru is a country that has many years whole empire, inca's empire that settled here, so you have history in Cusco, Puno, I think that's a very important issue that tourists decide to make the tourists want to come to Peru, the second one is the nature, the forest, the jungle, there are like Indians, like natives yes, and the third one is, you can go to anywhere, we were talking about, in Cusco, you can go to any family in the mountain and stay with them and see how they cook, what they eat, how they sleep, what they use their own medicines, something like that, and you can live right now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we can live in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

N: we been to Ollubamba, in the valley, we went to a friend of mine, a house, a country house, which is a long house in the middle of the valley, no noise at all

M: there were no TV at all, no wifi, completely disconnect

N: tourists want that

M: yes there are a lot of tourists that come to be like that

Me: yes, it's different, ok so finally, do you feel that tourism has changed Machu Picchu for the better or for the worse? Including the surrounding areas

M: no, I think it's for better, yes, I tell you one thing I dunno if you can get another answer like that, Cusco receives the money that comes to peru for the tourism, in cusco, is used for mainataining all museums, all the public places for the whole Peru, it's a lot of money that comes from the tourists, so the ministry receives all the mney and then distributes, for example to the north, the north has its own income, also the jungle has its own income, but if there is money left, they take the money from the

income from cusco, yes so I think that Machu Picchu and Cusco as well, are big, are doing well for tourism, we think it's very good for us

Me: ok thank you, that's everything!

### **Interview 3**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: ok so what are your names?

Artem: Artem

Natalia: Natalia

Me: where are you from?

N: you know the states?

Me: oh so you're just here just travelling?

N: yes

Me: cool, so how do you feel about tourism to Machu Picchu, obviously you've been up there, how was it for you?

A: it was organised when you get there, but not well organised when you're trying to get there, when you're trying to plan ahead, the trail was awesome, the bus up was great, the trail to walk up was unmarked, it was hard to find, but up there was awesome

Me: did you find it overcrowded or anything? Was there a lot of people?

A: well they've capped it recently, so when we showed up early in the morning-

N: afternoon maybe more

Me: so it depends what time of day you go then?

A: exactly, if you go by yourself, then you can get there early and beat the crowds, but if you're going with a tour, the tours usually arrive at the same time, so you come with the critical mass all the time, and that can be frustrating

Me: so your personal experience, would you say that it's an overall good experience or bad experience, taking everything into account?

A: oh great!

Me: ok, erm, with regards to overcrowding or restrictions that are put in place, was there any restrictions?

A: there was, on Machu Picchu itself, there were trails that went from that area, one of them is the Wayana Picchu area, and that has a restriction of 400 people a day, so if you don't have a ticket ahead of time then you can't really look

N: no food, no smoking, we ate though

(laughing)

Me: what no food at all while you're up there?

N: yeah no food at all it said don't bring food

Me: do you feel that the tourism up there was sustainable? Was it sustainable development they've got going up there?

A: it felt sustainable, it wasn't overcrowded like say the Mayan ruins, and there was no commerce on top of Machu Picchu at all, which was great

Me: erm, do you feel that tourism has changed the area of MP and the surrounding areas like Cusco?

A: I have no idea

Me: do you feel it's had a big impact on the community?

A: absolutely, everything seems tourist related, there seems no other form of living, as far as we can see

Me: so do you feel that they are very much dependant on it perhaps?

A: absolutely

N: number one income

Me: do you feel that tourism maybe has revitalised the area, helped regeneration?

A: it's hard to say, like we keep hearing there's no funds to restore the major tourist attractions which seems kinda odd considering that some places cost an arm and a leg

Me: oh where have you heard that from?

A: so example is the Moore area, some places of it collapsed because of heavy rain, irrigation, but they try to restore it but they claim that they don't have the funds considering it's one of the major tourist attractions

Me: yeah strange, do you feel that maybe the cultural traditions of this area, of this region, have been lost? Due to tourism?

A: no I don't think so, look at that (points), Cusco is a bad example but if you go around the region, almost every woman is dressed in a traditional way, I thought it was mostly to do with tourism but..

Me: do you feel it could be staged authenticity for the tourists, or do you reckon they dress like this regardless?

N: that we didn't understand, it's hard to say

A: the men are not dressed traditional, but the women, in the city of Cusco I'd say it's more staged, but outside on the street, it's hard to say

Me: ok, erm why do you think people visit Cusco and MP? What's the main reason?

N: MP

Me: why MP and not..?

N: experience, hike the trail

A: it feels like Avatar up there, it's just the size of the cliffs, the slope down, it's just incredible, compared to other sights that we've experienced

Me: ok, and finally, do you feel that tourism has changed MP for the better or for the worse?

A: it's hard to say, it's been dormant for 400 years, been discovered for a hundred years, it's been toured for a hundred years, you've got railway development because of that, all this living has been sustained because of that, overall it has improved the lives of the locals in my opinion

N: we don't know how long the historical place will last for, a lot of places gets ruined

Me: awesome, well thank you very much!

N: no problem!

#### **Interview 4**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

CR: my name is Carol, and I'm from Connecticut in the United States, and what else would you like me to?

Me: and your name as well?



PR: my name is Phillip, I'm Carol's husband, and we're from Connecticut in the United States, and this is my wife's first time in Machu Picchu, my second, and my wife's first time in South America

C: MP was beautiful, and the only irony is that I'm able to be here because of tourism, I mean if there wasn't the bus and the train and all that, I don't know if I would personally be able to do a real jungle trek and make it to MP and physically be present there and I've read much about MP and it's something I've always wanted to visit MP for a long time

P: many years!

C: many years, yes

P: I mean this is probably ten or fifteen or maybe longer years

C: so it's one of the ironies that you're visiting this beautiful, ancient civilisation

P: flooded with people

C: beautiful place, that's so rich in the past and a place, I think of great spirituality, and yet you're there with so many people, and they're taking so many pictures, and so are we, but it detracted from being able to get the full experience, so it's like an irony, because if I wasn't there with all these other tourists, then I wouldn't be there at all, but yet when I was there, you had this selfish attitude, like I wish everyone could be quiet so I could just absorb the enormity of the beauty, the enormity of the history that's there, get that connection with all of mankind really, it connects us all together and you want to feel that, want to be in that special place want to feel that, right deep in your soul and it's very hard when there's the distraction of

P: I think it's hard to be moved in the hustle and bustle, of the tourists all over the place

C: and the tour guide is talking like a history lesson, you know, and these are good things to know, and it's helpful, but you're not able to allow yourself to freely feel as much as you hoped you would feel being there

P: the only thing with me is that I've been here twice, had two different tour guides, and heard two different stories, you know, I mean for the most part the story was the same, but the little added comments, I don't know if they were plagiarism, if they were embellished, the whole story, or what you know, our tour guide today was excellent, but I already had pre-conceived notions from my last tour guide, so it's an interesting twist, the second time, you know

C: I think that, well I know that, there are different times when I would see particular setting, just a particular view, and it was very powerful, and I almost feel moved, my eyes are getting moist, and all of a sudden "oh, we gotta go here!" and you lose it, but the moments that I did have those feelings, priceless, and MP is truly a special place and I'm very glad we came, and so again back to the ironies, I guess in order to make it happen, tourism has to be a part of it, and so maybe there's some positive in the tourism after all, and knowing that everybody's there trying to share that same experience, because that's why people are there

P: what was interesting I think, the people that didn't wanna wait for the tour guide, so there was Chinese people that were waiting for about ten minutes to get their tour guide, then they finally said the heck with it, and went out there, and all they're going to see, is an ancient civilisation but without the

history or background of it, I just couldn't believe that they would enjoy that, you know, but the other thing about the tour guides, is I had to sort out, what is historical fact and what is I dunno, the suggested reason why it was there and things like that, it's hard to say, ok that's real, because I don't know how much they know, or embellished

C: I think a place like MP, the fact that it is so ancient, and still today with all the science and technology we have, there's much that current science can't explain as to what is absolutely present and there could be and you get this sense of ancient knowledge lost, a greater respect for the past, that maybe we're not the big know-it-alls after all, you know, there's a lot we can learn from the past, and there's a lot that we wish we could learn, but we can't find the information, and it makes you realise how we're a blink in time and yet part of a larger whole so that still part of something very precious, and I think a place like MP it makes you more aware of the connection with all of nature, it's a universal experience and it connects everyone, even the tourists, there's a connection, and a comradeship of kindship with the other tourists, this is a very special place

P: I just wanna add one thing, last time I was here, I went to Galapagos Islands first, and then I flew here and went here, and it's two different places, both high tourist areas, both have this aura about them, but Galapagos Islands, was so much filled with nature that, evolution and everything else, nature and very few people invaded it, then I came here, and expected the same beautiful spot, and it was flooded with people, got to get on the bus, get off the bus, get on the train, get off the train, get with your tour group, you know, and hopefully you'll make it in because otherwise you gotta get bus tickets, and now you're already hurried, like when I play tennis, I try to calm down before the match you know, and it's the same thing, I wanted to get here and be ready for, but the hustle and bustle didn't let me get ready for it, you know

C: I think that the fact that, call me a wimp or whatever, but I can't do the heavy duty hiking and camping, because that's the way, but if you're taking the slow, arduous route to MP then I think you have more of those opportunities-

P: you appreciate it more

C: -to have those fully spiritual experiences, that full connection that you're going for at this very special place, and so that's a frustration for me, I don't know if that's something I can fix for future or I guess the all standard no pain no gain (laugh)

P: I've been to thirty-seven countries so far, and I enjoy the, I always ask the who what when why everything, you know, why did you do this, why did you do that, I dunno the tour guides, I mean I'm asking the question but I don't know if I'm getting the right answer, you know, and I don't have the right answer that I'm expecting, I just want the answer, the unfortunate thing about it is, is that there aren't all the answers, and we don't know all the answers

C: I think the thing about MP, yes I wanted to learn more about it, even though I'd read a lot, hearing it directly from the guides, being there and actually seeing the physical presence whilst something was being explained, it was wonderful, but I wanted to feel MP more, and that's what was not the full experience, I did have moments when it was there, but not to the full extent that I had hoped and envisioned coming on this trip, and that doesn't mean I'm sorry I came!

P: she's only been in two countries, now three! We just came by from Buenos Aires, but MP brought her here, she didn't go with me to thirty-seven countries, she went to Italy and that's it, but MP she came

C: and it got me out of my comfort zone, first of all I have to be very very careful about the sun, I mean look at my face you can see the red cheeks and the red nose (laughter) this is all fifty-plus sun-repellent clothing, and I had the hat but still, and I was ready for that because it was MP and I wanted it, I wanted the experience that much

Me: have you been to Cusco at all?

C: oh yes we've been staying in Cusco

Me: oh how have you been finding it?

C: oh we like Cusco, except-

P: Carol was sick the first few days

C: I had difficulty with the altitude and everything; I actually got to experience the Cusco clinic and I got dehydrated and so that was a stresser because I'm feeling so awful, and I'm finally here, and we're getting ready to go to MP and oh my god I'm going to be right here and I'm going to be too sick to get on that train, that was making me feel worse, because then I was stressing out like I've come all this way I'm right here and then I don't get to go because I'm too sick to get on the train, but fortunately the clinic took care, and turned those things around

P: so Carol, what did you think, after you'd been here, versus what you thought you were gonna see?

C: well Cusco, I probably enjoyed, but Cusco was a lot more cosmopolitan than I thought it would be, I thought it was going to be this little quaint village and some of that is there, but it's really a tourist Mecca, so that was a surprise, but not necessarily a negative surprise, I wasn't exactly expecting some grand spiritual experience in Cusco

P: but now you've been here, you had a perception of MP, you've read a lot of stuff on it, what now? Did anything surprise you?

C: well, it was beautiful, I expected it to be beautiful, and it was amazing, the pictures tell you some of what to expect, but being there is a whole other experience than a picture, and it's something I will never forget, and I strongly suspect that I'll go back now and re-read some of the materials I have at home about MP, I'm going to actually have an enriched experience from that because my actual experience it won't come back, and I'll probably have, what do they call it, a delayed spiritual experience, so I think that's great, because when you read about a place after you've been to that place, and you've experienced that place, then the words that you're reading fill you, and that's what I expect, I'm going to be doing a lot of reading about MP when I return home.

Me: when you were up at MP, did you see any restrictions, where tourists weren't allowed in certain areas, did anyone tell you off?

C: there's one area of MP, there's a sacred stone and if you touch the stone, you're supposed to be able to have this feeling, and I wanted to be able to touch that stone, and it was roped off and off-limits and

tourists were not allowed to touch the stone so we were right there, and there it was, and I felt very denied and I understood what the guide had said, as to why they had to change the rules and that

Me: why did they change the rules?

C: because so many people were touching the stone and it was actually making the stone oily from the hands and they'd have to clean it, and it became an issue where they thought that it was harming the stone for future generations

Me: doesn't that sort of defeat the object of the stone in the first place?

C: I didn't touch the stone, in fact we had a picture of me in front of the stone and I had my hand (laughter)

P: you guys had the same thing at Stonehenge, there's a lot of talk about how could these people have the knowledge they had without some involvement with extra-terrestrial or something like that, you hear the same thing here, and you know touching the stone, I remember this thing on TV about that stone, I think it was about twenty years ago, I saw a documentary and they said that its position and the energy that comes from it and I was like I gotta experience that you know, and I touched it two years ago

Me: oh you touched it two years ago?

P: I had feelings (laughter)

Me: so this restriction, it's only a recent thing?

P: the last two years, yeah

Me: so you were lucky that you were probably one of the last few people then

P: yes I guess so I'll live a little longer then (laughter)

Me: so two years ago, did it look like it was damaged or anything then?

P: oh I don't know, our tour guide talked about it, one of the theories that it was really for the high Inca people as an education institution, but it was really for the whole Incas, this is where they stayed, and they brought in the fact that they had an astronomy lookout, and it's plausible, I just don't know if this is just an interpretation I dunno, and that's the bad thing about tourism, a heavy touristic spot is flooded with guides, and they don't all have the same take on everything, they probably went to school and learnt different things, then they throw in their embellishments

C: I think an important message from the past is, that we have to keep our connection with the larger universe which the ancient people did like the Incas, they were so aware, in terms of astronomy, in terms of the earth cycles, and their knowledge about so many things, like electro-magnetic fields and so on and we at least in our current western civilisation are putting more barriers between ourselves and nature, like we're on top of the food chain like we don't need it and that's a very false ideology, and when you're at a place like MP you realise so much wisdom has been lost, and then when we discover some of that wisdom, it's almost like we're grabbing something new that we've discovered, when actually it's been there all along

Me: do you understand the concept of sustainability?

C: oh it's very important, the balance

Me: do you think that the whole of MP at the moment will be sustainable, they are regenerating it, but with the amount of tourists that are coming in?

P: well they're trying, our guides said that they're having about five to six thousand visitors a day, and they're trying to restrict it, but they're coming from trails, there's people coming from foreign countries, and they don't wanna not let them in, so they originally restricted it to I dunno how many thousands, that they weren't gonna sell any more tickets to

C: our tour guide said we may be one of the final few to actually get into MP, and at first I thought he was joking, making a joke, and then I realised that he was talking about serious discussions about making it much more limited to numbers of people that could access MP, and again it goes back to that original concept of irony, on one hand you can allow more people to experience it, you're altering the experience, on the other hand, you can follow this course that I guess is getting some serious discussion, it's going to be out of reach for most people

P: if you restrict tourism, you may not be able to get in, I mean it's almost like Galapagos Islands, because you only have a certain amount of people that can go there, they've opened it up a little bit more, coz you know Darwin's theory of evolution's there, and you know, seventeen islands, that are untouched by humans, and they're two that are inhabited by quite a few people, the natives and now tourists, but fifteen of the islands are the same as they've been a million years ago, you know, and that's really cool

C: I'm almost wondering if they should maybe not necessarily limit tourists, but have different types of tourist depending on the experience the tourist is seeking, for example if somebody is looking at it from a purely engineering marvel and was wondering how the stones could have been put together, or from a purely scientific standpoint about the knowledge of astronomy and so on about what's present there, the terracing you know, and then another tour for those who want primarily spiritual experience and perhaps have days where it's one type of group, then another, and then you plan ahead for that, and then maybe that would enable..

P: all the tourism that has come to MP has brought in revenue so that they could keep up the place, the problem is, what they did is now they're building the road up there with walls and everything else, and almost like they're invading MP, at the same time in 1983, they stopped restoring MP, the federal law for ruins said you can't do that, and not only that it's on the list of-

Me: it's on the list of UNESCO world heritage sites

P: right, and they didn't want any more re-building, which I think is a good thing, you know, they could probably take like they did, two or three houses and re-made the rooves and stuff, which is good

C: they want to protect it, they don't want to alter it, you know, and when you're adding to it, it's your concept of what those thatched rooves might have been like, and so on, but we don't know a hundred percent if that's accurate for what, and that's the type of intrusion

P: in the United States, we have Plymouth Rock, you know what Plymouth Rock is? Plymouth Rock is when the settlers from Europe came over and first discovered America. Well actually, the Europeans, discovered America in the early 1600s, 1496 was Columbus

C: 92, 1492 was Columbus (laughter)

P: sorry 1492, but in 1520, they came, the Dutch came to Boston, to New England, now there's a rock called Plymouth Rock, which is bigger than this table, ok? Which is now very tiny, because the tourists chip away at the rock, and finally they had to put a glass closure over it with bullet proof glass, so the tourists couldn't chip away at it, because pretty soon there wouldn't be a Plymouth Rock at all.

Me: when you say chipping away, were they actually physically taking bits off?

P: yeah, used to be something this big, as big as this table, is now a quarter of the size! So what do you think they're doing at MP, the tourists, I mean the analogy is, too many tourists could ruin it.

C: they were actually causing erosion, because of the number of tourists, I'm not sure I was totally understanding the magnitude of the erosion issue among the international group that's concerned about this, but I would imagine when you have that many people coming at a regular basis, there's a lot of wear and tear along the pathways and everything else, whether all that activity could actually trigger over time other damage, I'm not sure, but I think that that is part of their concern.

P: Hiram Bingham is from our state, he's from Connecticut, I actually know Hiram Bingham's grand-nephew, and I remember him saying that his great uncle discovered MP, but back then I was like a teenager, like what's MP, you know? So it's interesting because I think that too much tourism can destroy a place, there's so much that we don't know, like Plymouth Rock in New England, it was this big and then thirty years later it was this big, so you really didn't notice how small it got, and I guess the point I'm making about MP, how much has, what are we seeing that really has deteriorated already

Me: yeah what's more to deteriorate?

C: one of our guides on the Sacred Valley tour, we were passing through a town on our tour-bus, he was pointing out areas like "oh that's where we hope to have an airport" and I looked at him and it's something that the community-

P: -it's about 25minutes outside of Cusco

C: wanting an international airport

P: can you imagine what that would do?

C: if there was an airport, people would just , you know, fly in, I mean we're joking but you never know pretty soon you could walk into MP and there'd be a big hotel I mean, there has to be balance, and I think that's easy to say, but a very complex answer to be found, and is it possible that MP has already tipped out of balance in terms of tourism versus what MP needs, I dunno, but the thought of an airport, that would probably go off the charts

P: people are already buying up land, people who are thinking of the profits, are buying up land, that recognise that if the airport goes in, it won't look like the old Inca settlement it was

C: and yet you know I noticed that the city wants to prosper tourism, so it's very easy to say oh no you need permission to do that, you'll spoil it, you'll spoil the balance, and you know, people have also their everyday lives, but that's why I say it's very complicated, it's like killing the goose the lays the golden egg,

if you try to do more with it and more with it in terms of tourist attractions, then pretty soon you've destroyed it, and it's not the same place at all

P: here's a good analogy, Cusco the original Cusco they say was the capital of the Inca empire, what we're seeing, is a modern day Cusco a pile of stones here, and a couple of churches, it's not the centre of the empire, so we hope that this doesn't end up the same way

Me: do you find that Cusco has perhaps become vastly dependent on tourism?

P: Cusco, oh yeah absolutely, Peru is one of the poorest countries in the world, but nobody goes hungry, there's a difference, some poor countries also have hunger but this country doesn't because everybody has land, even a poor person can plant potatoes and raise cattle

C: they're self-sustaining

P: yeah self-sustaining

C: and so they may not have a lot of material wealth, or something we'd say were everyday niceties, which to them might be a luxury but they have their self-respect, they have the ability to care for their families, they have a richness in their life, and in many ways, they have something that a lot of us, with more materialistic stuff, have lost, or don't have because they do have the balance, and we've lost our compass sometimes

P: Cusco needs the tourism, and the same thing now with MP, they started building the roads, so there were better roads to get to MP, now they need the revenue to upkeep the roads, and I see improvements just from two years ago, and those improvements are done with money that eventually they're going to have to maintain but they're gonna need more revenue, it's the domino theory you know, I think that's what's going to happen here, maybe not at Cusco because you're not gonna see hotels springing up in the mountains, although there are a couple, but you're gonna see the area around Cusco develop more and more, and in two years I've seen that already

C: our tour-guide was talking about how areas of MP could eventually be roped off, so you can come and look at the view but you can't wander around those structures anymore, and that's probably a change that's going to come

P: there's a noticeable degradation of the ancient site then you might have to do that, I'm torn between that I dunno, I wanna experience that I wanna see that I wanna explore and go into every room, why is this room set up, but with us all trapesing all over the place, we're probably creating a lot more erosion and things like that.

Me: just going back to what you said about Cusco, you said it could be self-sustaining, would that be self-sustaining because of tourism or is it just because of the natural resources they have already?

C: oh I think that when I say self-sustaining I mean from the necessities of life, so that they have the farming production, they have the fresh produce, self-sustaining food, shelter, clothing, water and I think the tourism industry is maybe to add for them more of the conveniences of modern life and to be able to afford those and maybe upgrade their home or whatever, but could Cusco survive without tourism, I think it could

P: I don't think it could

C: I think it would, it would be different but

P: people would then look at it like Quito, Ecuador, is also a beautiful community like Cusco, but there's no MP there, but coz so many people moved here, and are working in the tourism industry, I don't know what percentage that is but it's gotta be a lot, people who are living off the tourists have gotta be at least 40-50% of the population, now if that went out, what would happen to those people? Now, I don't think they'll starve, because they'll probably end up getting plots of land and they'll have that meeker existence, which is they'll have food on their plate, they'll have a pair of shoes and a couple of outfits to wear and that'll change their life, but they won't starve because nobody in Peru is gonna starve. They're poor as dirt in many cases.

Me: but you disagree with that though?

C: well I think again it's a matter of balance I don't think that it should be oh tourism's bad, we should just shut that industry down, absolutely not, I think that it's just a matter of trying to not lose yourself in one industry, and it's easy to say it's ' complex matter

P: if you go to Bizak, which is another original Inca community, actually it was Inca roots but then the Spaniards set it up more for protection and control purposes, but what they ended up having for an industry, is the silver industry, and it's big, they mine silver then they export silver all over the world, so they're lucky, if tourism went down, that town could survive, Cusco I dunno, they'd survive but I think Peruvians are survivors, but the ones that are survivors are the ones that are surviving without tourism now and so poor that their life expectancy for the peasant community is in the eighties, overall in Peru it's 78 but in the peasant community it's in the eighties , there's no stress, you eat, you have a family, you have everything you need

C: and everything you eat is organic, they haven't been Mcdonaldised.

Me: just quickly, do you feel that tourism in Cusco has destroyed in a way the tradition and the heritage, the culture, the heart of the city, has tourism ruined that really?

C: oh I don't think so

P: I wouldn't say ruined, I would say that because catering to tourists, there is still all that history in us, but if you look at the culture of the town, it's nothing like the original Cusco

C: I have the sense that the locals, how you would call it, the people who are indigenous to Cusco, are very aware of their heritage going way back and that their life today is inextricably linked to their ancient past and their more recent past with the Spanish influence and so on, but they don't move forward at the expense of losing their past, they build on their past, and I think that's the nature of the culture here, and I think that will endure, I don't think tourism will change that.

P: Carol and I differ on Cusco probably because she believes in people and that everybody's gonna succeed, right?

C: I like to think I'm positive



P: I'm more of a realist, and I really think that there will be a lot of unemployment, because what would they do now, they're not used to growing an agricultural area, but then listen to this, I came in from Buenos Aires, I came here and I was like wow you know just to get into town they have to get up valleys like two way roads, if they had a highway they would be more efficient, and I said that was just an observation, I like the way it is, but now here I am all-of-a-sudden saying wow there's a highway right here now you can get right in, but what's gonna happen, the airport, from that point all the way out, that's gonna end up being a highway, instead of a two-way, in Cusco, after you get off the train, you take a bus, when you get to Chinchicwa, there's a plain, it's huge, mountains and mountains, and all-of-a-sudden this plain is 7 miles wide and 6 or 7 miles long, and they're talking about putting an international airport in there, it's been blocked by Lima, Lima have started fighting it, it sounds like it's more serious

Me: what's the name of the company?

P: I dunno

Me: it's good that Lima are against it though

P: so maybe look at that!

Me: awesome well I think we better go catch our train

P: it was nice talking to you

Me: thank you so much!

## **Interview 5**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: if you could just repeat what you've just said please

Mariano: for me you have two ups and one down, one down is preservation, preservation of course if you don't preserve it, MP the guide told us that perhaps they want to shut it down, close it for a few years, and there's another city that is as big as MP but the preservation is not so good, so they're going to try to move all the tourism to there, to preserve MP because it's bad, Peru needs, and Cusco, think about Aguas Calientes if they didn't have MP it would disappear, I think they would have nothing, so you need the money, and then you need to let people know about your country, and the only way is like people go and travelling, it's different around and you knew about it, and what it all was. The one that completes all this is tourism. The only way is to let people know. I am from Argentina I was born in a tourism city, it is 400km from Buenos Aires, and everybody tells me, what do you think about tourists

that they make a place crowded, and I think, most of the people who are they make it that, for me, it's perfect, I know where to go, where not to go, like that.

Me: but it depends what you go to MP for, if you go for the atmosphere, do you think it was there when you went there? Did you feel it even though there were lots of people there?

M: the instructions are good, don't bring food, don't bring water, don't shout, and everybody is acting like that, it's not busy, there is a lot of people, and of course there are stones from 600 years ago, two/three thousand people every day come and visit and go, one time the road there, was destroyed

Me: did you find that the amount of people there ruined the experience or affected the experience?

M: what spiritually?

Me: just in general, the whole experience of being at MP, did you find the amount of people a problem?

M: I don't know, for me no, it is like travelling and knowing a culture, but for spiritual I go to another place

Tom: I feel the spirituality of the place, how you say, I feel the other sites, in Buenos Aires, the noise, you can't feel this, quiet travelling

M: he is saying that, finding yourself out of a routine, your mind changes when you are travelling and here perhaps, the silence, the trekking, it is not a common trip, the last trips we went to Rio De Janeiro, the US, Europe, it's totally different, the energy here, I don't believe in energy

T: I believe in the energy and the connection

M: but of course, your mind is totally different

T: I believe it because I have evidence of this, my family believes it

Me: a lot of people say, they speak about the spirits of it, you shouldn't destroy the spirits of it, it's like going into a church, it's the peace, quiet, respectful

M: yes it's respectful in every country we go, we go to many I don't know, to Japan, the temple there, you go to Argentina to our church and you must be respectful and I go to India and I see people burning a corpse and I have to be respectful

Me: did you find when you were at MP, did you find any restrictions? The tourists weren't allowed to do this, or weren't allowed to go there?

M: for me they were fine, it was clear what you weren't allowed to do, do not go there, if you think you can't go there, because 500 people every day go there and climb a wall, it will fall down, it's clear

Me: so you agree with their restrictions?

M: yes of course I think it's not that restricted, you can go everywhere

Me: there are places you can't go though, there are places where you can't go beyond the ropes

M: it's like you are going to an altar in a church, you can't enter a bank or a hotel anyway

Me: do you understand the concept of sustainability?

M: yeah

Me: do you think it's sustainable?

M: no

Me: you don't think it'll last?

M: no, for example I was talking about the river, totally polluted, you ask the guides, he can't fish here you know

Me: is this the river going through Aguas Calientes?

M: he told me all the rivers near, all of the waste from Aguas Calientes is not treated, he told me there's a fish in every km

Me: wow

M: yeah, and that he didn't find any at MP, in other places near Cusco, you find damage everywhere

Me: do you think that's just because of tourism or do you think it's because the locals aren't educated?

M: right totally, it's like they're so sociologically inferior about what to do, what you are seeing, if you find a house with all the windows crashed, you don't take care, some places totally clean and you do nothing because you feel like it's ok, here it's the same, you throw garbage because it's common, perhaps in your city you don't do that

Me: so the tourists are just contributing towards it?

M: yeah, they sum up a lot of people, and perhaps I take care of my rubbish no? and perhaps I leave it in a bag in the hostel and they take the bag and throw it away, so I generate a lot of waste, a lot of tourists generate a lot of waste, that waste is perhaps not sustainable.

Me: yeah, how did you find Cusco? The tourism in Cusco, did you find it had ruined the culture, the traditions, the heritage? Changed it or contributed?

M: I don't know where they came from, what it was, but I know that 50 years ago

Me: it was the Inca capital

M: yeah originally, a long time ago. I dunno, talking to the guide, he said that it's getting much more accidental like American culture, like in Lima for example, that they discriminate all of the people in Cusco, because they talk Quechua and all of that, in Lima they are more talking like Europeans, like in Argentina, so perhaps that is changing more than tourists, the culture, he told us that his brothers and his sisters, don't want to talk Quechua anymore because in Lima they are discriminated for talking Quechua, so they are losing their language and their identity, the language because you can't write it, it's only spoken there is no other representation like sounds, it's like that, so if you don't talk it, you lose it. And they told us that they are losing it, he told us, and I don't know if it was true, that they went to a disco, they went to vacation to Lima, they went to a disco and they didn't let them in because they were from Cusco.

T: imagine there is a lot of places where there is discrimination, in Bolivia, in Argentina, in Europe, it is a lot of places not only here, in Bolivia it's a similar situation, if you live in one city you are discriminated by other people in other areas

M: so, a lot of tourists haven't got to do with that, it's the people, the trouble is in the country, in Argentina we have the same, in Brazil, America the US, everywhere. We were talking about how you feel like a stranger in your own country. So every country has their problems.

T: my sister lives in Spain, and she has a lot of discrimination, you feel it, when I visit.

Me: yes, yes

## **Interview 6**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Willem: Hi

Me: ok so, when you were at MP, how did you feel about the tourism up, the tourists, was it overcrowded? Were there restrictions? A good/bad atmosphere?

W: I liked MP, there were a lot of tourists, but I don't think there were too many, there is a restriction right?

Me: I think so, like a daily one, I think they're going over it

W: like a maximum, so, I think it's ok, the tourists are pretty respectful, but yeah

Me: did you think there was any litter, or erosion or? Was it managed properly the tourism up there? Was there any people telling you off or anything?

W: yeah I think so, there were some people who were working there who would tell you not go there or not to stand on stuff, like the ruins

Me: so your personal experience of MP, how did you find it?

W: great, it was a great experience, it's a nice town, it's one of the world's wonder right? So it's really nice to see, it's pretty big, it's bigger than I thought, and it's nice you can have pictures everywhere.

Me: did you notice while you were up there that there was anything, sort of restrictions put in place, like it was being managed or controlled, like the crowds, like anything was managing the negative effects of tourism, did you notice anything?

W: there were some signs, like a route, go here go here, the people that tell you not to stand on the grass or something, with the Llamas, I think it was pretty controlled, I found that tourists are respectful for a place like this, like they don't just throw away garbage, like everywhere in Peru they miss garbage cans

Me: do you understand the concept of sustainability? Like long-term development that will last, that won't negatively impact the environment, yeah?

W: yeah I've heard of it, but I think they manage it pretty well

Me: so you think it's gonna be sustainable, like the crowds, how they're managing it yeah?

W: yeah I think so

Me: from your perspective, how has tourism already impacted MP?

W: of course it impacts the environment of MP, there's a lot of people working to contain it, to keep it original, and I don't think that the effects really are too bad for the ruins, because they're really careful with what they do, of course it affects it a little bit when they have thousands of people a week, but then they make quite good money out of it I think

Me: do you think tourism has changed the area of MP and Cusco, do you think it's sort of like changed their cultural heritage and traditions; has it impacted them at all?

W: I think so, I think it's coz it's one of the more tourist places of maybe South America even, because tourists go to MP, so it's a really important tourist place

Me: do you get the feeling that any traditions or values have been lost? Perhaps tourism has taken over a bit?

W: I dunno, maybe, in Cusco maybe I guess, MP is just a touristy place, there's no origins left of people living there, Cusco is quite touristic

Me: do you think that's a good or a bad thing?

W: I like Cusco, so for me that's a good thing, a lot of people think it's a, when you own a bar you think it's a good thing, maybe the locals and the farmers think it's a bad thing

Me: would you consider yourself a tourist or something else?

W: I think I'm a tourist

Me: even though you're volunteering?

W: yeah, I do, so I'm not, but still I'm a tourist, I'm only here for six weeks, I'm not living here for half a year or, everyone approaches me as a tourist, I look like a tourist I act like a tourist, probably a tourist!

Me: do you think tourism has revitalised the area of Cusco?

W: I dunno, how it was before

Me: has it contributed to developments maybe? The revenue that's come in

W: I think so, like more touristic places are better preserved

Me: coz there's still some rough parts of Cusco that I've been to, like round by the San Pedro market, that's really rough round there, so maybe they've like, focused only on the tourist areas to regenerate?

W: yeah but still I think even the rough parts are still places for the tourists to see

Me: what it's good seeing the contrast?

W: yeah and people like going to some things outside the tourist area

Me: why do you think people visit MP and Cusco, what's the main reasons do you think?

W: MP for a lot of people is a bucket list item I think, just it's awesome and it's one of the seven wonders, you're more tempted to go there, so there're probably a lot of other places that are just as beautiful but are probably not as recognised

Me: how much do you think the local people rely on tourism? Have they become really dependant on it?

W: in Cusco?

Me: just the whole area

W: and MP?

Me: yeah

W: I think so, I think they're pretty reliant on tourism and tourists

Me: too much or the sufficient amount?

W: I dunno, if all tourists just left right now, there would be a lot of people without money I think, there's a lot of tours and travel agencies, agencies everywhere, so I don't think they would manage without tourists

Me: do you think tourism has improved MP and the surroundings areas for better or for worse?

W: it's a normal thing to say it gets worse because it gets more crowded and it's less authentic, but then when it would be less touristic, then maybe no one would have heard of it and no one would go there so there's that side, but I think it improves the area for the people.

Me: any other comments?

W: I don't think so

Me: ok, well thanks!

## **Interview 7**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: so when you were at MP, how did you find tourism there? Did you find a lot of people, it was overcrowded?

F: a lot of people

Me: vous pensez que c'était un problem?

F: ah! Non, non non, j'ai faire du photo, I do many photo, without visitors

Me: il y etait beaucoup des poubelles, et pollution?

F: not dirty

Me: your personal experience? C'était un bon experience?

F: very very very very nice

Me: did you see any restrictions for tourists? Any ropes or restricted areas?

F: repeat? (laughter)

Me: any restricted areas or zones, where the tourists weren't allowed?

F: non comprend

Me: ils etaient les domains ce n'est pas possible pour les tourists pour visiter?

F: si c'est ecrit! (laughter) my personal experience is good

Me: do you understand restrictions? Areas where tourists weren't allowed to go?

F: non pas comprend, for me it's a very good experience, I will say to my friend to go to see MP because it's very nice

Me: were there many problems with the tourists or areas where you couldn't go?

F: no problem, everybody is very simpatico

Me: vous comprenez l'idée de sustainability? Sustainable development? Pour les long-temps? Non? (laughter) vous pensez que le tourisme a changer le demand de Cusco

F: I don't know, Cusco is very nice, not dirty, we are very well in Cusco, in security

Me: qu'est-ce vous pensez des problemes avec les tourists en Cusco, il a changee l'histoire, le culture

F: it's the first time I went to Cusco, it brings money

Me: vous pensez que les personnes de Cusco, ils ont besoin des tourists pour le travail

F: yes, of course

Me: peut-etre ils sont trop dependent?

F: yes, I think so, many shops for tourists

Me: vous pensez que le tourism a ameliorer la ville de Cusco?

F: yes, I think

Me: pour le construire les batiments?

F: yes, but it's natural, not very high hotels, it's historic, very well

Me: qu'est-ce vous pensez des traditions de Cusco et les personnes en Cusco, on etait perdu?

F: no, I think no, because we have seen lots of traditions, many people have gone to the church

Me: pourquoi les personnes visiter le Cusco?

F: it's very nice city, la ville est plus jolie en Peru

Me: ouai, ok! Et MP, pourquoi les personnes visiter?

F: because it's a dream, yes, we have visited MP with our son, it was a dream it was a dream also for Nasca, near the sea

Me: ok, peut-etre les personnes visiter MP pour esprit, la sante, le spiritualite

F: esprit, history, the history of the Incas, intelligence of the Inca, very good intelligence to make a construction with the stone

Me: ouai c'est incroyable!

F: incroyable! Mysterious

Me: et finalement, qu'est-ce vous pensez le tourisme a changer Cusco et MP pour le meilleur ou?

F: I think for the meilleur because the tourist pay the persons can wash the place, the stones

Me: thank you, and your name? Decrit your nom? The letters? En Francais c'est pas probleme!

F: oh ok! E-l-i-r-n-e, Elirne, and you?

Me: Charlotte, je m'appelle Charlotte

F: Charlotte, thank you!



Me: merci beaucoup Madame!

### TRANSLATION

Me: so when you were at MP, how did you find tourism there? Did you find a lot of people, it was overcrowded?

F: a lot of people

Me: do you think that it was a problem?

F: Oh! No, no no, I took photos, I took a lot of photos, without visitors

Me: was there a lot of litter bins, any pollution?

F: not dirty

Me: your personal experience? It was a good experience?

F: very very very very nice

Me: did you see any restrictions for tourists? Any ropes or restricted areas?

F: repeat? (laughter)

Me: any restricted areas or zones, where the tourists weren't allowed?

F: I don't understand

Me: were there areas where the tourists were not allowed to visit?

F: if it is written! (laughter) my personal experience is good

Me: do you understand restrictions? Areas where tourists weren't allowed to go?

F: no I don't understand, for me it's a very good experience, I will say to my friend to go to see MP because it's very nice

Me: were there many problems with the tourists or areas where you couldn't go?

F: no problem, everybody is very nice

Me: do you understand the idea of sustainability? Sustainable development? For the long-term? No? (laughter) do you think that tourism has changed the demand of Cusco?

F: I don't know, Cusco is very nice, not dirty, we are very well in Cusco, in security

Me: do you think that there are any problems with the tourists in Cusco, has it changed the history, the culture?

F: it's the first time I went to Cusco, it brings money

Me: do you think that the people of Cusco need the tourists for work?

F: yes, of course

Me: perhaps they are too dependent?

F: yes, I think so, many shops for tourists

Me: do you think that tourism has improved the city of Cusco?

F: yes, I think

Me: for the construction of buildings?

F: yes, but it's natural, not very high hotels, it's historic, very well

Me: do you think that the traditions of Cusco, and the people of Cusco, have been lost?

F: no, I think no, because we have seen lots of traditions, many people have gone to the church

Me: why do people visit Cusco?

F: it's very nice city, the city is the prettiest in Peru

Me: yeah, ok! And MP, why do people visit?

F: because it's a dream, yes, we have visited MP with our son, it was a dream it was a dream also for Nasca, near the sea

Me: ok, maybe people visit MP for the soul, health, spirituality?

F: the soul, history, the history of the Incas, intelligence of the Inca, very good intelligence to make a construction with the stone

Me: yeah it's unbelievable!

F: unbelievable! Mysterious

Me: and finally, do you think that the tourism has changed Cusco and MP for the better or?

F: I think for the better because the tourist pay the persons can wash the place, the stones

Me: thank you, and your name? Write your name? The letters? In French it's not a problem!

F: oh ok! E-l-i-r-n-e, Elirne, and you?

Me: Charlotte, my name is Charlotte

F: Charlotte, thank you!

Me: thank you very much Madame!

## **Interview 8**

Interviewee status: Local Resident/Business Owner/Tour Guide

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: so what's your name?

Shana: Shana

Me: what do you feel about tourism to MP? Do you think that it's a good or a bad thing?

S: sorry what did you ask me?

Me: you know tourism, at MP? With all the tourists? Do you think it's a good thing or a bad thing, is it ruining the environment or is it a positive thing?

S: positive!

Me: why do you think it's positive?

S: because it's a lot of tourists going to MP because it's an important place in Cusco, you know, it's a spiritual place and the people come here when they arrive here, take energy you know, all the people going it's positive.

Me: so do you think there's too many people? At the moment?

S: no it's ok number of people but in the high seasons in May, June, July, August, it's a lot of tourists come to Cusco, and it's difficult finding, trying for transport everything

Me: has it started to affect the environment, any restrictions up there?

S: yes we have some restrictions, we have controls, we have a limit for entrance to MP the tourists

Me: why is there now a limit? Has there been some negative effects?

S: no, what is done the limit we have Incas in the office institute shaking their heads they put a limit

Me: ok so is that the government or is it an organisation?

S: the government, made the decisions, it's three companies, three institutions, it's the ENSA, CERNAF, and institute Culture

Me: ok, do you understand the concept of sustainability, long-term development that will be beneficial?

S: I don't understand

Me: sustainability, sustainable development? Development that is not for the short-term but for the long-term, so that it works for a longer period of time?

S: it works?

Me: yeah

S: sorry I don't understand (laughter)

Me: it's ok

S: sorry I don't speak very good English

Me: don't worry you're doing really well! The tourism up there at the moment, do you see it being ok for the future or will it get worse, the situation up there?

S: no, all the tourists is the same, just a different when it's a little tourists or a lot of tourists, when it's a little tourists it's better maybe because you see MP at this lonely time, you know, but what happened in the high season it's difficult because there is a lot of people who are waiting because if you want to take a picture in one place, you have to wait, some tourists pass you, you know? From that it's different probably, for that it's better on the lower season not higher season, you know. But every day is the same, every day, all the year.

Me: how do you feel, as a local citizen of Cusco, how do you feel when you go up there? Do you feel irritated at the foreigners and the tourists because it's your Inca heritage?

S: in Cusco or in MP?

Me: MP

S: in MP hmmm

Me: does it annoy you?

S: it's mainly different persons, from different places, also local people, Peruvian people, Cusconian people, different places or from different towns around Cusco going to MP, it's not only tourists it's from everybody you know

Me: how do you view your cultural heritage, your traditions, your past?

S: in MP?

Me: no in general, your traditions in Cusco, the area, your past, your ancestors, how important is it for you?

S: in Cusco it's a lot important for the culture because we have many archaeological places from different cultures, you know, and has many messages the people write the books, different, I don't know in English, it's from the different culture, message in a book, the history and many people have different histories

Me: how has tourism changed Cusco and MP, like developed?

S: oh history I don't know

Me: the buildings, the types of shops

S: MP is only ruins you know

Me: in Cusco, has it changed Cusco?

S: in Cusco you have shops, handicrafts, museums and ruins, typical streets you know that is in Cusco but in MP is a stone city you know

Me: do you feel that Cusco has become too dependent on tourism? Relies upon tourism too much? If tourism wasn't here the economy would suffer?

S: economic?

Me: the money, the finances in Cusco, there would be less money in Cusco without tourism?

S: yes, when it's not tourists come here, it's lower season, when there's more tourists, it's better for us we have more money you know

Me: so you need it?

S: yes, we have behind the internet, we have more tourists because we sell in Cusco the tours, I compare fifteen years before, but now, now it's all in service, that fifteen years before it's 70% tourists book here the tour and 30% internet, you know, now it's different everybody has organised everything, but when the tourists come here it's a little bit tourism it's better when the tourists come here and see many options to take the tours, but now it's different, we don't have tourists but for us the Inca's in Cusco, because only the tourists have entrance in Cusco on the tours

Me: ok, has tourism improved the area? Helped pay for new buildings? The money from tourism, has it helped regenerate, rebuild, improve the area?

S: yes, it's a necessity it's important, as if for everyone, for example, buy handicrafts, check in another shop, buying all the things you know, and that is better for us, if we don't have tourists, all the people that say here oh these tourists don't sell anything, nobody buying this, that is different

Me: ok, as a local citizen of Cusco, do you feel that because of tourism, your traditions have been lost?

S: no, the traditions we have in Cusco is a lot of traditions, but we make all the days a tradition we don't change, when we have traditions we have more tourists, no more tourists come here and the traditions don't change, especially the traditions with tourists or no tourists

Me: I've seen a lot of the older women dress up in traditional clothing with the alpacas and they try to charge you for taking pictures

S: In Cusco is no for me is not a good idea, why because that paints a portrait of typical dresses only for decoration, because in Cusco don't accept that woman with the alpacas with the llamas, don't accept that, but when you travelling in some different towns around Cusco, you say yes, but the moment you go over and take a picture, they say to you oh give me some tips, one sol, one dollar, ten dollars, you know, but maybe here you listen that woman sell you one picture you don't know you have to pay, you know, you take it then give me a tips, one sol or one dollar, maybe that person is checking your face, oh she has money, oh say you the price, one sol, or one dollar, or five dollar, you know in Cusco don't accept that, but in different towns around Cusco yes you see llamas the typical people yes, in Cusco it's not normal

Me: so they just do it for the tourists?

S: yes

Me: why do you think people visit Cusco and MP?

S: because the principal place in Cusco is MP, it's the wonder of the world, and a lot of person want to visit MP because it's a principal place of the world and they arrive in Cusco and say I want to visit MP, it's the principal place, some tourists will spend one or two more days here, visit the sacred valley or some other place, but the principal motive to arrive in Cusco is MP

Me: ok, last question, overall do you think MP and Cusco have changed for the better or for the worse because of tourism?

S: Cusco and MP?

Me: better or worse because of tourism?

S: MP has more tourists, per day it is 3,500 tourists, you know they have to arrive in Cusco and then go to MP, some tourists prefer sleeping in Aguas Calientes town, it's nearer to MP you know, but in Cusco for example, when we have arrive in Cusco even if they sleep in Aguas Calientes town, they have to arrive in Cusco first to get the train to MP, the main thing is MP

Me: ok so Cusco is better or worse with tourism?

S: Cusco also is better because it has different archaeological place, you see different towns where is possible you will spend your time and you will see the typical families, and you make the local interaction there, Cusco is also a really nice city, a lot of tourists come here and say Cusco is impressive because here has many places for visitors, many places where is possible to stay and relax without noise, it's also interesting in Cusco, different than MP

Me: brilliant, thank you very much!

S: no problem!

## **Interview 9**

Occupation: Travel Expert at STA Travel/tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: ok if you could state your name and occupation

Paddy: my name is Paddy and I'm a Travel Expert for STA Travel

Me: so you visited Machu Picchu, how long ago did you visit?

Paddy: a couple of years, 2014 it was, yeah 2014

Me: ok what were your main reasons for going?

P: as part of my job, I am encouraged to travel it was actually part of my sabbatical, South America was the last continent that I needed to do, other than Antarctica, so I took two months off and did South America from Brazil, and then all the way up to Columbia, and MP is kinda one of the things you have to see, you have to go when you're out there, so yeah part of the job, and it's always a place that's interested me anyway, I do like the history, everything around it basically

Me: awesome, how long did you spend there?

P: MP itself?

Me: yeah and the area in general

P: I only spent the day, but then I only spent a couple of weeks in Peru it wasn't that long

Me: whereabouts did you visit near MP and stuff?

P: MP I did, so I did Cusco, Ollantaytambo, Aguas Calientes, but I was gutted because I didn't get to do the Inca Trail properly because I had to book it last minute through work, and the permits obviously six months in advance they sell out, so I didn't get the chance to do the Inca Trail itself

Me: ok so how did you get up there then?

P: I took the bus to and from there, but I may have slightly, illegally done a bit of the Inca Trail backwards, accidentally of course (laughter)

Me: how did you manage that?!

P: you just walk up to the sun gate and then you walk past it, so yeah, just did that with a mate and we were walking along there for a couple of hours until a guide was like "are you on the Inca Trail?" no, "get back get back!" (laughter)

Me: was that easy to sneak onto it then?

P: yeah if you're there at the right time, didn't see anyone for a couple of hours

Me: really, what time was that?

P: um well we were there for kind of sunrise at the sun gate so it was pretty easy, most of the groups were there so it must have been just after sunrise, we got to MP for sunrise, and then we walked up to the sun gate

Me: oh I see and by then everyone would have left the trail and gone through, that makes sense, oh awesome. How do you feel about the tourism to MP? Like is it good or?

P: they are managing it, the fact that they close down the Inca Trail once a year and things like that, they're managing it better than other countries manage certain monuments and things, but it's still very different to anywhere else in Peru really

Me: how so?

P: I say anywhere else, the touristy spots, like anywhere in South America and Asia and stuff, where you get a lot of Westerners, you get a lot of other things around them, you'll see lots of western stuff, people selling western things and also a lot of crime increase and stuff like that, in Cusco and places.

Me: oh wow, really?

P: Peru, when I was there, was the statistically most unsafe country in South America.

Me: really?! I thought that was Columbia?

P: nope, but have something to do with the police being a little bit more honest in Peru, they'll actually report a crime, rather than yeah

Me: so what were the crimes relating to?

P: theft and stuff yeah

Me: like people thieving from the tourists?

P: I've heard worse stories from places like Rio but yeah you do hear things about people being mugged and taken to cash machines and things like that

Me: oh god I'm glad I didn't hear anything like that when I was there!

P: yeah it's like anywhere, you wanna hear about London from the opposite side of the world, people always fear it and stuff but it does happen occasionally. Like anywhere with tourists, there's gonna be a little bit of crime with it, but na I think they are managing it really well, tourism has obviously brought a lot of benefits as well, brought a lot more money to those areas, and yeah you get more affluent people, pros and cons

Me: ok so yeah your personal experience, like discard everything you've heard from other people, how did you find it, like the tourism impacts, try and disregard all the rumours, and everything that you've heard

P: that's hard to say, because you didn't see the area before tourism, so it's very very geared towards tourists, like there's loads of offices to book very touristy stuff, that would be the impact that it's very catered towards it, and having done other countries in South America, where the tourism is not a bigger thing, the difference is quite pronounced, and there's clearly a lot more money brought from it.

Me: while you were there, was there anything being done to assist tourism, like reduce the impacts, by regulating the flow of the tourists, or the frequency of the tourists, was there any sort of management going on did you spot that?

P: yeah there is, even down to the buses, when you had to get the bus up there, it's very much, this is the area the tourists stand in to get the busses and everyone goes there and does this and just down to things like the Inca Trail and the permits and stuff like that, so they are managing it quite well.

Me: how about when you were at MP when you were walking around and stuff, was there any sort of restrictions where you couldn't go to a certain part?



P: well there is clearly defined routes that everyone is walking up, and it is yeah, I mean like anywhere you have to be respectful of things, basically follow the lines

Me: with regards to security, were there people there making sure the tourists were abiding by the rules?

P: well I just remember getting annoyed by a lot of school kids (laughter) yeah there was a school trip in front of us while we were going round actual MP itself, yeah so just being highly annoying, to be honest I didn't notice security guards or anything like that really, they could have been there but they're not part of my memory

Me: ok so just the school kids, so if there were security there they weren't doing a very good job of managing the people (laughter)

P: no, not really, they did annoy me (laughter)

Me: ok fair enough, did you see any evidence of sustainability or an attempt to implement it?

P: well yeah I know there is, with regards to the Inca Trail closes down in February, so I know that type of thing goes on, um MP itself, like the grass and stuff seemed surprisingly well maintained for the amount of people that are there, they must be doing something, but to be honest I didn't really ask many questions about that type of thing, but yeah it's surprisingly well maintained.

Me: ok, how do you think tourism has already impacted MP?

P: well, massively (laughter) it wasn't discovered, yeah they're still trying to find new routes and stuff, yeah it's still expanding the whole time, like when people think of Peru they do think of MP, like it is a touristy symbol, like it pretty much is the touristy symbol that's out there

Me: ok, um how has tourism changed and developed the area of MP, and even the surrounding towns as well?

P: yeah the surrounding towns clearly, Ollantaytambo I know there's like a pizza place and stuff like that, and lots of very very westernised shops so yeah they seem to have grown from what probably would have been a very small local town with not much going on and because of the Inca Trail, it's become this massive tourist town, a town geared massively around tourists

Me: I actually found Aguas Calientes worse

P: oh yeah yeah, I didn't spend that much time there, but yeah everyone was like "come to my restaurant come to my restaurant" the whole time, sorry it was a couple of years ago (laughter) and the drinks offers as well, like if you come in here we'll give you loads of free drinks, we'll give you this we'll give you that, yeah they just want people, in particular because I was actually with a group around there, if they see a group of people they're really aggressive, because they know that groups tend to spend a lot more and so they're really aggressive in getting people who are with groups, like a small section of them in so that the rest of the group comes in. that wouldn't happen if it wasn't for the tourists

Me: no, probably not!

P: having done bits of South America where they don't really get the tourists, then yeah they don't really care about you (laughter)

Me: has tourism revitalised or regenerated the area? And how?

P: yeah coz there's money going in, you can see lots of things do change, shops and stuff, they're not as run down as other areas or the country, or South America in general, so there's money there, there are other countries like Columbia which wasn't as massively touristy but they still seem to take pride in everything, it was a really clean country in places, but then other countries it was worse, it was pretty dirty

Me: how about like the architecture, the buildings

P: oh god it's massively changed yeah

Me: do you reckon tourism's helped that?

P: yes and no, it's all shop fronts and that, which I don't like but that's me personally, but then there is the money to regenerate buildings that will have been rundown otherwise

Me: what about employment opportunities?

P: definitely brings it yeah, there's so many restaurants and so many opportunities for guides and stuff as well, which I know are low paid but as a local job that's a really good job out there, I know in Peru all the guides they have to be from that area, they're only trained in certain areas that they're only allowed to guide around the area you're trained in essentially. There are specific MP guides, I was with this guy who was a local guide from Peru, but I met some people who had this woman and she was from Cusco, so she was allowed to guide around the Cusco area, she wasn't allowed to guide around MP

Me: why's that? Do they have a special training course or?

P: yeah, like people from Lima, they have to get it themselves, I think it's a university-type thing, I think it's their qualifications, at college or whatever, if you're from the amazon, you can't go to Lima and guide around Lima, you're not allowed, which I found really interesting, yeah they're really hot on the jobs that tourism is bringing, so it's good

Me: boosting the economy I guess!

P: yeah!

Me: how important do you think cultural heritage is to the tourism industry?

P: yeah very, they all seem really proud of their cultural heritage, yeah they seem to like to talk about it a lot, in particular the native native Peruvians, yeah, they're adopting that quite a bit

Me: that's probably the main reason they're so enthusiastic, it helps if they're passionate doesn't it?

P: yeah, they do like it, you won't get that in other parts of America, you get some American guides who are doing it just because they speak Spanish, but you don't find that in Peru, everyone's really proud of their culture

Me: yeah I suppose they're born there, grown up there

P: yeah

Me: yeah that's good. Erm do you think any cultural traditions have been lost, because of tourism?

P: yeah, yes to be honest. Undoubtedly, that amount of tourism does dilute a culture, they're embracing more western traditions and things, more European-style traditions, but not too the extent that other countries are, they're trying to balance it quite well.

Me: what did you think of Cusco, did you think it was sort of overly touristic?

P: not compared to some other places I've been to, but yeah it is pretty touristic, and you do get like, like I was saying with Aguas Calientes, you get the people on the street, trying to aggressively get the tourists into their bar, into their restaurants, their shops, and in Cusco you've got a lot more of the sunglasses men (laughter), like real raybands, yeah of course they're definitely real (laughter)

Me: yeah and the massages as well! There were so many women asking if we wanted massages, no we're alright thanks (laughter), yeah that was funny. Do you think that sort of puts the tourists off a bit? If people are right on the streets, begging them to come in?

P: yeah, in know it does me, I don't like it when that is the case, but there are a lot worse places, I dunno if you've done Asia?

Me: no

P: yeah they're a lot more aggressive, a lot worse, they generally, like if you say no thank you, they generally leave you alone, rather than follow you for miles and miles, which I have had in other places

Me: I actually ended up doing that like no gracias (laughter)

P: yeah a lot! They don't mind it so much, and it's not like, like there are quite a few people trying to get you to buy stuff on the street, or just come into their pub or whatever, but there aren't children, I didn't find as much as in other places, I can't even remember encountering any children doing that, but that's a really big thing in other places of the world, getting the children to go out.

Me: I remember in Cusco it was quite good, because there was loads and loads of children, but every time I saw children they were in school uniform, and they were either going to school or coming back from school

P: I know there are a bunch of projects that we do with children out in Cusco

Me: oh right? Yeah I met someone who was doing that who was doing the Inca Trail with me, and then he was staying in Cusco for a bit to work in a school there to help teach the kids, to teach English I think, and he was from Holland.

P: oh awesome, yeah we do have projects and stuff, and other companies like geoventures have projects out in Cusco as well, to be honest I think if you went a few years ago it may have been worse, but it seems like tourism's come in, affected it, and then we've gone oh we're affecting it too much, let's try and make things better

Me: what do you mean by tourism's come and affected it?

P: well, like I said, anywhere where tourism goes, it does change things quite a bit, obviously people commute there from other areas in the country, so you get homeless people and people like that, but I didn't notice too many

Me: why do you think people visit MP, as the main thing?

P: lonely planet (laughter), I'm joking, but it is on so many different travel lists it is

Me: so do you think the media influences people?

P: oh yeah definitely, very influential. I don't know if you've heard of the 'Lost City' trek in Columbia, which they're now calling the new Inca Trail, the new MP, that at the moment not a lot of people know about it, but knowing people that have done both, loads of people are saying that actually the 'Lost City' trek, and the Lost City, is, actually they prefer it, it's a bit more spectacular, and the route is better, but-

Me: more spectacular than MP?!

P: apparently, like they find that it may just be because when you go to MP, you do have the streams of tourists everywhere, it is still amazing though, but yeah different thing, way way fewer tourists

Me: do you reckon that's because there hasn't been as much publicity, less media coverage?

P: we've only just started booking trips to there

Me: do you reckon that will soon turn into MP, with those streams of tourists?

P: yeah

Me: so media's a pretty big thing?

P: yeah, massive draw, I mean obviously it does have the whole history and everything there, the fact that it wasn't discovered for so long, but it's been there for thousands and thousands and thousands of years, so yeah, it does have that, and just like the views, there's nowhere else like it really is there, so yeah, just a mountain up there, with this thing on top of it, it's kind of a one-of-a-kind kinda thing, in people's minds, you can find similar things elsewhere, but yeah

Me: it's a once-in-a-lifetime

P: yeah

Me: I think it's on a lot of people's bucket lists, a lot of people that I've spoken to, they've been like yeah it's one of the things I want to do before I die, so now I'm just like, yeah, I've done it (laughter). Erm how much do the local people rely on tourism?

P: depends on the individual, but as a whole, quite a bit, it's clearly brought a lot of money to the area, there's a lot of jobs based around tourism, whether it be tour guides, people who own the shops, or down to the people on the streets selling their wares, if there wasn't tourists there, they would not be making money

Me: so you think perhaps they're too dependant on tourism?

P: some of the people, yeah, if for example Cusco, because so many of the Inca Trails start from Cusco, that has changed the town a lot, but it was the old, capital?

Me: Inca capital, yeah

P: yeah, exactly, so it's clearly been a big part of their country for a while, so there will be jobs and income there and stuff, but, it is, so I'm sure if something happened, or if MP disappeared for whatever reason, it would still survive, but the other towns, the smaller towns like Aguas Calientes and Ollantaytambo, I don't think would.

## **Interview 10**

Interviewee status: Tourist

Me: Would you mind answering some questions about tourism and Machu Picchu? I'm writing a study based on tourism perceptions?

Me: ok so if you could just state your name and occupation

Sandie: yep my name is Sandie and I am a hotel manager

Me: what made you decide to go to MP?

S: because at my age, you start crossing things off your bucket list, and I was always of the opinion that MP was out of my reach, both financially and physically, and I was watching a video of my son and his girlfriend that they had taken of their trek, well of their trip to Peru and their trek to MP, and I was watching it, and I just thought, my god that is just the most amazing place, just so beautiful and so, you know, inspiring, and I was feeling very very down that day and was feeling quite low, I'd only just lost my dad and was feeling very blue, and my friend who's the same age as me, she's 62 as I am, she came in and we were talking about age and about how things don't change, and how you have to live with whatever is happening to your body and whatever, and I said well today, today I learnt how to attach my laptop to my flat screen tv, and I can actually now watch it in full view and said to her, I attached it and got to watch my yoga videos and do them without putting glasses on, which is great, and I turned on my laptop, and the first thing that came up, was the video of my son and his girlfriend doing the MP trail, so we sat there and we were just going oh isn't it amazing blah blah blah, and my friend said "we could do that!" and I said pa not likely and she said "yes we can!" and within 45mins we'd booked it!

Me: 45mins?!

S: yeah

Me: who did you book with?

S: Intrepid travel

Me: and you did it all online?

S: yeah, I mean, the thing is, I've travelled with intrepid before, and what I like about them is that it's community-based, so they only use local guides, they only use local communities, you eat with local families you stay with local families, it's very basic, I mean really basic, but you get so much for your money, if you're willing to sleep on the floor, and not have a shower (laughter) for example! So yeah that's how we decided to do it, and once we'd decided I then completely freaked out because I thought I'd never be able to do this, so I was getting into running, I started going to the gym, because physically it's very challenging, and I spoke to my son about it and said "do you think I could do it?" and he said "yeah I think you can do it mum but it is a challenge" but he not for one minute said you can't do it, and as it turned out, more than 50% of us, there were nine of us, yeah more than 50% of us were over 60

Me: did you do the Inca Trail then?

S: yeah

Me: how did you find it?

S: well, you know, there's many things that it encompasses, a) you can't be a drama queen because it's hard slog, it's very basic, you're sleeping in tents, no shower facilities, no toilet facilities, I mean obviously we had porters. The thing that's most difficult and the thing that most people find the most challenging, is you're very influenced by the altitude, because you're at 3,700 feet, up to 4000 basically, and no one ever knows how they're going to react to altitude, it's something you can't train for, you just have to suck it and see! And for everybody, that was the biggest challenge, because it's like carrying your best friend on your back, you're constantly fatigued, you're out of breath, and yeah of course you see the youngsters going on ahead of you, and you think yeah that's great for them, but if you're of average health, yeah it does, it has a huge impact on you, and some people really struggle, some people actually can't do it because of the altitude, my friend, she suffered quite a lot during the night, because she would wake up in the night and couldn't breathe, which was very scary for her, and everyone else, the minimum was that you struggled, yeah it was it was sort of like carrying somebody, because you have the exact same physical reactions, so you're struggling for your breath, you're fatigued, you go really slowly, every step is a struggle, and it's either going up or going down, day 1 is the hardest, because, you're, actually was it day 2?

Me: I found day 3 the hardest

S: oh you did it?

Me: yeah

S: day 1, did you do the Inca Trail?

Me: yeah

S: day 1, I'm trying to think now, coz day 2 I got really really sick, I did the 10 hour hike just feeling like I was gonna die, I'm trying to think now, day 1 was up right? Day is down, is that right?

Me: I think day 2 was down, and day 3 was the hardest because you had the last bit that was like that, that you pretty much had to climb with your hands and feet.

S: and did you go during, which season did you go in?

Me: I went end of March last year

S: ok, I went in the rainy season in January

Me: oh no!

S: yeah, so every day it was raining, you were slipping, it poured with rain the whole night, you were pretty much always wet (laughter) so you know it was..

Me: character building!

S: yeah! You know, but yeah it was worth it, for sure

Me: yeah definitely, how long ago did you go?

S: in January

Me: oh this year?!

S: yeah

Me: oh really! Fabulous! So it's still fresh?

S: it seems like years ago now

Me: yeah, I can't believe I came back from Peru over a year ago now!

S: really? Did you do the whole of Peru?

Me: no I just did Lima, Cusco, Aguas Calientes, Inca Trail and Machu Picchu, and Ollantaytambo, I was only there for just over two weeks, took my mum

S: oh right! And she did the trail with you?

Me: yeah, she thought it was great

S: and how old was she when she did it?

Me: right now, she's 52, so she was 51

S: yeah that's a good age to do it actually

Me: yeah my mum's quite physically fit, but you know, she struggled, she's got arthritis in her feet so she did struggle a bit, but she found the cocoa leaves, you know the cocoa tea they gave you, she found that really helped her arthritis

S: oh really?

Me: yeah she was fine, I had a bit of altitude sickness so I know what you mean, the feeling of carrying someone, I had to sit down and get my breathing back

S: well the feeling that I had, I have bad knees because I've always done fitness to a high level, but I actually struggled more on the downward because it was absolutely killing me knees, oh my god I was in

compete agony, so for me that was the hardest part, harder than the upward hike, but I did it in memory of my dad, because I lost him just over a year ago, well a year before I left actually, and I did it in his memory, and I did it to raise money for SAFA as well, SAFA is the armed forces charity, they're the ones that help amputees and other service people, so because my dad supported that charity, so I said look if I'm going to be doing something as tough as this, then I want to raise money for a good cause as well so, so I did that for SAFA and raised £2000

Me: that's really incredible

S: and even if it was just for that, then it was worth doing it, but it was very emotional for me when I got to the top, even now when I talk about it, and I think you know I did that for my dad, so it's really quite powerful, but yeah we did Lima, we went to Puerto Montal in the Amazon, so we did an Amazon hike as well

Me: how long were you gone for then?

S: we were gone for 16 days, but it was all pretty much all trekking and stuff, and we did Lake Titicaca as well and the reed islands, and stayed with a local family

Me: that sounds amazing, I might need to go back and do what you did (laughter) because I haven't been to those places, I didn't go there! Erm, so when you were at MP, how did the tourism up there affect you, what did you think about it?

S: I have to admit, that when we arrived at MP, I was absolutely flabbergasted that there were tourists all over the place, because to me, the reward that I was getting from doing the Inca Trail, to arrive at MP, that was my reward, you know, to go to somewhere as sacred as MP by bus or by train or however it is, however they get people there, I don't think that's actually fair, we walked and hiked for four damn days to see this amazing place, and to get there and see it being covered by thousands and thousands of visitors who just literally just get out of a bus or a train or whatever and I was really disappointed with that, and actually that really detracted from the impact of MP, it was like what's the purpose if you can just get on a train and see it, and also you know, having that many visitors destroying, because you know that there's actually a very high risk that MP is going to be closed to visitors, and it's because I dunno it's the authority, it detracted from the experience. I didn't think that I was trekking all that way to see a bunch of, you know, crowds of people, yeah definitely that detracted from it without a doubt, and the other thing, which obviously I mean I can see the reason that they do it because they need the money for the upkeep and so forth, but I think people that do the trail, that actually work to get there, would pay more money to protect it, rather than have the masses come and tread all over it, I mean it is definitely a fine balance, but I certainly think that there should be a much tougher limit on the number of tourists out there, and I definitely think that trekkers should be given a priority, and that's not to say that people with disabilities or who are not able physically to do something like that should be eliminated from it, but I do think that there should be a much higher limit on visitors without a doubt.

Me: ok, so overall your whole experience to MP was it mainly good or bad feelings, if you had to veer towards one or the other?

S: oh it was definitely an amazing experience, no doubt about it

Me: so the tourists didn't detract a huge amount from it? Overall it was still a positive experience?



S: well you know the thing is, we saw obviously a lot more than the tourists would have seen, but yeah no it did detract, definitely without a doubt, you know, but what I would have liked to have seen is facilities for the trekkers, or maybe for the people that organise the treks, to give you a little bit more time to rest, yeah because like we got up at 3 o'clock in the morning or something ridiculous on the last day, which was completely ridiculous I mean there was absolutely no need for that and I don't understand

Me: yeah coz we had to get to the sungate for sunrise, and then-

S: and did you?

Me: yes we did

S: because we didn't

Me: yes there were a lot of groups queuing up though, as we got to the exit of the last campsite, I think we were there for about an hour and a half waiting, while it was pitch black

S: yes me too, but that was stupid there was no need for that, I mean why was that? I don't understand that at all, there was no benefit to it

Me: maybe it was to try and beat the other groups there, who can get there the earliest, I don't know, it was quite exhausting actually, that wait

S: and by the time you get to MP, you're pretty knackered aren't you? And then you've got the guide taking you round, and actually all you want to do is lay on the lawn and fall asleep (laughter)

Me: yes I remember we were trying not to yawn as she was telling us all this information, we were trying to take it in but we were so tired!

S: yeah because they're like all hey-ho let's chat about this, and you're just thinking (snoring noise). (laughter).

Me: exactly

S: and you're just trying to find somewhere to get some water, and get to the loo

Me: it was expensive as well! The food and the drink there, we found quite expensive, yes considering the amount of people that were there they could have quite easily made a huge profit even if they dropped the prices

S: and I think if they had done that, it might actually disperse the crowds a little bit, if they had a larger facility for eating and drinking, and for a better price, because we looked at it and were like are you kidding I'm not paying that for a coffee I might as well just carry on with my little bottle of water.

Me: definitely. Erm while you were up there, did you see anything that was being done to assist tourism by minimising the impacts at all that the tourists were creating? Any management schemes?

S: well yeah, I mean I think it was quite well managed, at MP, it was quite well managed, they've done a really good job I think, but you know there's always going to be, and of course it's closed in February anyway, kind of preservation and renovating basically, I mean I think they should possibly close it twice a year, you know, for a month, because I do think that somehow or another, they're going to have to

manage it in a better way, it needs to be pronged, it needs to be reducing, or extending the amount it's actually closed, coupled with reducing the number of tourists, you know and if that means increasing the price then so be it.

Me: so you went up there in January, so you must have been there before they closed it for the renovation

S: yeah just before

Me: how was it?

S: it was pretty treacherous, especially with the rain and everything

Me: yeah I was gonna say

S: I mean a couple of people fell, it was quite steep in parts, it was really kind of treacherous, but overall I think they did a good job, they clearly care very much about it, and all the guides I felt were very passionate, and very proud of their heritage.

Me: hugely, yes. Did you see any sort of littering, different types of pollution up there?

S: there wasn't really, I didn't notice so much the littering, every once in a while you see a bit of litter on the trail, but I think people were quite respectful, so overall I would say overall, no. You know, you'd see a couple of times people had left a trash bag and things like that, and I was like "my god" you know, how could they possibly do that?! But overall, no I think people were pretty respectful.

Me: and vandalism, did you see any signs of that?

S: no not really, did you?

Me: a little bit, yeah some people had engraved stuff onto the rocks, their initials and things like that.

S: I was just so exhausted to notice anything like that (laughter)

Me: I was with three other people who were roughly my age, we went off exploring, left the others, we ended up coming across this little route thing, and there was this massive rock where people had just scribbled their names all over the wall, like we're young people but we didn't understand why anyone would want to do that, yeah it was pretty upsetting to see actually!

S: absolutely! They've been there for hundreds and hundreds of years, and of course if you see one lot of etchings, then generally stupid people will go oh they did it so I'll do it too.

Me: yeah we weren't very impressed with that at all! Bit disappointing. Erm did you see any evidence of sustainability or any evidence to try and implement it?

S: yeah, most definitely. I mean, as far as the actual protection of MP itself or, the flowers and fauna do you mean?

Me: erm, both really, you know, how they're going to make it last for future generations

S: well it appeared that they were very conscientious about protecting it, of course it's the wear and tear of the people using the facilities, the biggest threat to sustainability I think, they're trying to keep it as true to its heritage as possible, that's the impression that I got. Yeah, they did reconstruct roofs and

things like that, but that's also to protect the buildings, you know, like the original structures, so I think it's a good job.

Me: and how do you think tourism has already impacted MP?

S: I think it's taken away some of the uniqueness, so yeah, now I had never realised that so many people travelled to visit MP. Like I said at the beginning, I was very surprised that regular tourists could visit it, I think that having seen that, it has become a bit overexposed, takes away the sanctity and the uniqueness of it. Albeit, you know, because I thought that only the hikers could go and see it, yeah my attitude has changed a little bit, it was disappointing for me, although I still think it's an amazing thing to do, I think the only way to see MP is to do it the sustainable way and not the way of coming in on busses.

Me: completely agree (laughter). What do you think about the future of MP? How do you think tourism is going to impact it further?

S: well I think it's already having a negative impact on it, all our guides were talking about the fact that there's been talk of closing it to visitors, so I think they've you know, they've kicked themselves in the shins, they've made a monster, and now they're trying to figure out how to backtrack. I mean yeah sure it's great that it's been exposed to the world and that people have an opportunity to see it but I certainly don't think it can continue at the pace that it is on right now, and there is clearly something going to happen, I mean what's good about the Peruvian Ministry of Culture, they've quite understood that something has to be done, and I'm certain that we'll see something change very very soon, and I'm all for it

Me: so do you think it's reached its carrying capacity then?

S: absolutely, without a doubt.

Me: how do you think tourism has changed or developed the area around MP and the surrounding towns?

S: well it's all based on visitors you know, I mean what I really like, I really like this kind of backpacker's ethos, because a backpacker's ethos is all about looking after the world, and there's a certain type of person that would backpack, and those are the type of people that care about the environment, and that's what that area embraces which I really like, making it too kinda touristy, it can only be a negative, and you see it all round the world, people want to see things they want to experience things, but when it comes to an ancient site that has always been hidden, we have to treat it very differently

Me: how so?

S: well we have to be more careful, and less intrusive and simple

Me: did you visit Aguas Calientes or Ollantaytambo at all?

S: Ollantaytambo yes, we stayed there the night before we went, we went straight from there actually

Me: oh you went straight from there to the inca trail?

S: yes

Me: oh right, interesting

S: because we'd already stayed in Cusco, we'd already acclimatised to the altitude, so we started from Ollantaytambo

Me: how did you find Ollantaytambo, you know the tourism had it impacted it hugely or?

S: do you know, I can't really remember a lot about it to be perfectly honest, I don't think we stayed there long

Me: everything was in a little square

S: yeah you know I was so impacted by Cusco I think it's one of the most beautiful cities I've ever seen, it's just fantastic I loved everything about it, so yeah when we got to Ollantaytambo we were like oh god have I got everything I need, and I couldn't find my headlamp, so I think we were all kinda involved in that really without paying much attention to it, because that's the one where you've got the train line running through the centre isn't it?

Me: no that's Aguas Calientes, that's got the train going through the middle of the town, so that's where you were that's where you left to see MP, so did you manage to see Ollantaytambo at all?

S: ooh no hang on a sec

Me: it's a very small basic town

S: I'm trying to think which we did, no we went Aguas Calientes on the way back and Ollantaytambo on the way there

Me: how bizarre because I went Cusco, Inca Trail, Aguas Calientes, Ollantaytambo, back to Cusco, so you did Aguas Calientes, Inca trail, no sorry Ollantaytambo, Inca Trail, Aguas Calientes

S: Yep

Me: right, so how did you find Aguas Calientes? The town with the train going through? I thought it was quite touristic

S: yeah it was really cute, interesting, very animated

Me: I remember someone told me they found it almost like a western film

S: yeah, yes I agree! Yeah it was definitely a cowboy town I thought! (laughter) but that's the joy of Peru, it's such a diverse country, it's so completely different you know going from Lima to Cusco then Lake Titikaka and the Reed Islands, it's so different, it's a fantastic country

Me: yes hugely, you said you really liked Cusco? What about the tourism there, had it affected it or ruined it at all? Was it hugely touristic did you find?

S: I didn't think so, no, I thought it was very true to itself, I mean you know when you consider how popular it is, you know not everyone's gonna go there because again the altitude not everyone can cope with that but I liked it very much, it was a great town, I'm trying to think of another town we stayed in, Juno I think it was called, not a very nice town, Juliaka I don't know if you know where that is have you heard of it?

Me: nope never heard of it

S: Juliaka is the weirdest town I've ever been in, it's horrible, was it Juno or Juliaka, you know I really wish I'd written all this stuff down, I've got it written down somewhere, but Juno was like a ghost town, because you see in Peru, I don't know if you know, but providing you're still building, if you've got a house and providing you're still building it, you don't have to pay taxes

Me: yep we found that out

S: and Juno was the prime example of this

Me: everything is unfinished

S: everything's unfinished, and it just looked like a Syrian war-torn city, awful, just awful

Me: yeah I know what you mean by that, we found that on the way as we were meeting people for the Inca Trail, we passed a load of buildings like that and the guide told us all about the taxes and stuff, the town felt quite eerie, it's bizarre, no I've never heard of those two towns, I should look them up actually! Erm has tourism revitalised or regenerated the area do you reckon?

S: oh I'm sure, I think it's created a new environment, you know, yeah I think it's created a whole new environment

Me: what about things like employment?

S: yeah you know, obviously it's been very beneficial to the local population, and brought people in from other towns as well, because of the tourism

Me: do you think it's helped with the buildings? With the development of the infrastructure of the towns?

S: I'd imagine yeah, with the money that tourists are spending, it's going back into the city

Me: ok so you feel the money is going back into the towns that are creating the tourism it's not going elsewhere?

S: no, no I don't think so, it doesn't give that appearance, well I don't know enough about it, but it certainly doesn't give that appearance.

Me: ok, how important do you feel the cultural heritage was to the people there?

S: oh gosh very important, it seemed like all the locals were so proud of their heritage and so proud of everything to do with their history and they appear to be very very proud possessive people of their heritage

Me: ok, do you feel that tourism may have taken away some of those traditions?

S: no not at all

Me: so you still think it's very raw?

S: oh absolutely, no I didn't think that it had an adverse affect at all, the people actually seemed to get along with their life alongside the tourism

Me: did you see any staged authenticity at all?

S: the only thing I saw that was staged was, actually that was in Cusco I think, can't remember, we went to this kind of restaurant that had this sort of stage show on, it had dancers, I thought it was kinda tacky but anyway

Me: just put on purely for the tourists

S: yeah but you know that was pretty much the only thing, yeah the Reed Islands sure it's touristy but it's such a unique thing to see, that I think it had to be staged in order to show what it was about

Me: ok so that's interesting, so you think sometimes it needs to be staged to demonstrate how it used to be?

S: yeah I thought it was really clever, the way they showed all the stages how they made things how it used to be, why the Reed Islands existed in the first place, how they were constructed, you know you can't know that without it being shown, so it was useful and clearly they're very proud of their handicrafts, and I thought it was very nice seeing the way that they continue with their handicrafts, their embroidery, their knitting, beautiful, you know though it's a shame that they have to rely so much on their crafts to make a living because you always feel guilty that you're not buying more, but it's always nice to put things back into the community by purchasing things that are beautifully made, I would have liked to have bought more but I couldn't fit anything else in my backpack (laughter)

Me: yes me and my mum were saying that when we were there, we should have brought half the amount of clothes so we'd be able to fit a lot more in on the way back, and we spent the entire time judging it you know how much have we bought how much can we fit in, what if we see something later on in the trip

S: yeah there's a couple of things that I really regret not buying you know

Me: yeah same for us, as a joke we want to go back there just to buy things! No trekking, just as a holiday (laughter)

S: I have this thing where I always have to buy something to hang on my wall, wherever I go, usually you can roll it up and get it framed, I did buy a beautiful applique when I was on the Reed Islands, which I haven't got framed yet but I will, like all around are things I've bought from various places, not necessary here but in the rooms

Me: wow so you've travelled quite a bit then?

S: yes, that's what I do every journey now

Me: that's so cool I need to start doing that, every year! Erm why do you think people visit, the main reason why people visit MP?

S: because they've seen it on TV, they've seen it in magazines, because it's sacred and mystical

Me: so do you think the media has a huge impact then?

S: definitely, and I think also people want to visit it because it's a tough place to get to, and that gain ties in with my disdain for people who get the bus or the train there

Me: so you see it as a kind of reward then?

S: definitely, and I would hold really steadfast to that

Me: how much do you think the local people rely on tourism?

S: hugely

Me: so if it wasn't there, how do you think it would affect them?

S: I think they would be extremely poor, I think it would be devastating to them, I think they'd continue to survive, but it would definitely have a huge impact, well it's their main industry, it's their main source of income, yeah it would have a devastating effect

Me: and overall do you think that MP and the surrounding towns have changed for the better or for the worse because of tourism?

S: well for the better, for the standards of living most definitely, because I went and stayed in communities where they don't have any tourism, and although I have to say that the people were happy, it really depends, you have to first define happiness essentially, I mean yeah it would impact them hugely, whether it would make them happier or unhappier I can't really say, because as I said I've been to very very secluded communities in Peru where they're really happy and totally enamoured with their lives and peaceful and non-materialistic and no running water, no electricity but yeah they're living happily. So yeah it just depends on what you determine as happiness.

Me: right, well that's everything then thank you!

#### **Email 1: sent from S.Carter**

Status: British tourist in Cusco

Machu Picchu itself is out of this world, we arrived early but it soon filled up and was busy. It wasn't over crowded but busy. There's a definite difference between the hardcore trail goers and the day trippers. Just hearing some of the dumbass things those Americans said made you realise that a lot of people don't understand the importance of it. Therefore I would say don't treat it with the same respect.

Tourism is control by the 'security' people everywhere making sure you don't do anything you shouldn't. A good thing for the local people as they are employed and very passionate about the area.

Parts are cordoned off to protect them from tourists and the paths are clearly signed posted so that you don't go anywhere you shouldn't. The Wayana Picchu climb is restricted to only 200 people am and 200 people pm again to help stop the damage being major.

The town at the bottom is Machu Picchu is definitely booming. Bars, restaurants and hotels flood the area again good for the local people and the area, I wouldn't know how sustainable it is tough, everything was clean and tidy. There's a large market area for local people to sell souvenir t shirts etc.

Had Machu Picchu not been discovered then this town for sure would not be as booming as it is. Also the indirect jobs that come from that would not be in place.

**Email 2: sent from Mr Freeman**

Status: Geography teacher and previous tourist

1, August 2010.

2. The overriding impression of Machu Picchu is its spectacular setting surrounded by very steep mountains, even without the ruins it would be extraordinary. It is also a massive honeypot there are so many people going there. The train is full. The number of buses going up to the top. The first time I went was in the late afternoon and all the people who were not staying in Agua Calientes had left on the last train so it was comparatively quiet. The next time was to go for dawn and then it was packed, as the sun rose over the mountain peak someone started playing El Condor Pasa badly – A very cheesy moment. There was a queue of Japanese over 150 waiting to get close to the 'altar' apparently it gives off Cosmic energy – surreal. In though it was covered in people it still had the Whoa factor.

3. There were various different coloured recycling bins, although at the bottom of nearby slopes there were piles of rubbish. The footpaths had been hardened to prevent erosion. Parts had been roped off, you are not allowed to touch the altar. The Machu Picchu trail has had strict ecologically sustainable rules applied to it. i.e. all rubbish has to be carried out.

4. The wider community benefit from MP, the multiplier effect. On the trail communities along the sacred valley take turns to provide porters so that each community gets some money. Some hotels such as Inkaterra in Agua Calientes use local products such as the huge varieties of potatoes and quinoa so local farmers benefit.

5. Soil erosion caused by thousands of feet is a problem it looks like MP might one day slide off the side of the mountain.

6. I interviewed one of our guides Alfredo as I was interested in his views. He said that the Spanish especially the Catholic church had spent centuries denigrating the Inca culture so the local people felt little connection with the Inca sites. As tourists come in their tens of thousands to marvel at the site the local people have regained pride in their Inca heritage. He refers to himself as being a decedent of the Incas.

6. Agua Calientes is the main settlement at the base of MP. Its population when I visited was about 5,000. It looks like a wild west town nearly all made of wood and looks like a disaster (landslide /fire) about to happen. If it was not for MP the whole of southern Peru would be mired in absolute poverty rather just being poor. Cusco and the Sacred valley have been the major beneficiaries but it has created a tourist trail so that the coastal area with the Nasca lines and the Amazon eco-lodges based around Puerto Maldonado have also benefited.

7. As explained before although it may be a problem in the future if anything it has reignited cultural traditions although partly with commercial aims.

8. It is on the bucket list. People go because it is one of the modern wonders of the world it is one of those that does not disappoint. There are much more extensive Inca ruins it was not a city but a small settlement. It is the setting which makes it spectacular.



9. There are 4 economic activities in Andean Peru – small scale farming (altitude is a problem) small scale mining, tourism and growing Coca for cocaine. Only the last two make any money. MP is vital for the regional economy.
10. It makes the difference between poverty and absolute poverty. My professor at Uni did fieldwork on the diets of Andean people away from the tourist sites and he could not get a figure higher than 1500 calories a day. Transport has improved since then and Peru's population are meant to be the smallest in the world but they are some of the poorest people in the western hemisphere.
11. The environment of Machu Picchu is under stress but as it can only currently be accessed by train, walking and helicopter it does get some protection. Economically it is vital to the local area, the south of Peru and at the national level.